

LEEDS STUDIES IN  
ENGLISH AND KINDRED  
LANGUAGES

NUMBER FIVE

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# LEEDS STUDIES IN ENGLISH AND KINDRED LANGUAGES.

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## MORE LOST LITERATURE IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH.

The more we examine the numerous references to be found concerning the Lost Literature of Medieval England, the more we recognise their importance in any general survey of the literature of this period. The point has been stressed by Professor Chambers and further research on the subject has but justified his words. In the following article further examples of works in the vernacular are noted which, for the most part, have disappeared leaving little trace of their existence. But it can be definitely proved that these works once existed and their existence may throw a new light on many of the problems of Medieval vernacular literature.

The work of Alfred the Great in the sphere of literature is usually regarded as being amongst the earliest of its kind in English, and Professor Chambers has shown conclusively that it is from the prose of Alfred that modern English prose is descended. But it is as well to remember that, in his use of vernacular prose as a means towards the education of his people, Alfred had been anticipated by an earlier and a greater scholar. In the account of the death of Bede, written by one of his disciples, we read how, on the day of his death, he was engaged in the translation of the Gospel of St. John and of extracts from Isidore into English for the benefit of his students:

“ In istis autem diebus dua opuscula memoriae digna, exceptis lectionibus, quas cottidie accepimus ab eo, et cantu psalmodum, facere studuit; id est a capite sancti euangelii Iohannis usque ad eum locum in quo dicitur, ‘ sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?’ in nostram linguam ad utilitatem ecclesiae Dei conuertit, et de libris Isidori episcopi excerptiones quasdam, dicens: ‘ nolo ut pueri mei mendacium legant, et in hoc post meum obitum sine fructu laborent’.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, clxii.

Whether any of Bede's disciples followed the example which he set them in the use of the vernacular we do not know. In any case the raids of the Northmen would cut short the development of a vernacular prose in the North and Alfred had to start again from the beginning, probably with no knowledge of the previous work of Bede.

Manuscripts of most of Alfred's major translations seem to have survived, though many of the manuscripts extant were not written until long after his death. Works which have since been lost have been attributed to him, but it is probable that the ascription of most of these is as apocryphal as that of the Middle English "Proverbs of Alured." Such is probably the case with a translation of Aesop's Fables with which he has been credited. These fables were later translated into French by Marie de France. In the Epilogue to her work she tells how, at the request of a certain Count William, she translated her version into French from the English of King Alfred:

" Pur amur le cunte Willalme,  
 le plus vaillant de cest reialme,  
 m'entremis de cest livre faire  
 e de l'Engleis en Romanz traire.  
 Esope apelë um cest livre,  
 kil translata e fist escrivre,  
 de Griu en Latin le turna.  
 Li reis Alvez, ki mult l'ama,  
 le translata puis an Engleis,  
 e jeo l'ai rimé en Franceis,  
 si cum jol truvai, proprement."<sup>2</sup>

This seems to be the sole authority for the statement that Alfred was responsible for the translation of Aesop and, late as it is, it cannot have much weight. Nevertheless Marie's statement is important as indicating the existence of such a work in English at a period when extant works in the vernacular are so scanty.

Similarly Alfred is said to have written a book on Falconry, apparently on the sole authority of an entry in the catalogue of

<sup>2</sup> *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, ed. Karl Warnke, Halle 1898, p. 327.

the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury. In this catalogue, drawn up by Prior Henry of Eastry in about 1330, item no. 496 seem to be a volume of medical treatises, the contents of which are given as:

“ 496. Liber Galieni, Constantini de malencolia.

*In hoc uol. cont.:*

Liber medicinalis.

Liber Aluredi Regis custodiendis accipitribus.

Libellus de fleobotomia.

Liber Soracii phisici ad Cleopatram Reginam de mulieribus.”<sup>3</sup>

We know from the biography by Asser that Alfred was a great huntsman and it is probable enough that such a subject would have interested him. But such an ascription at this date would be merely traditional. Nor is there anything to show that the tract is in English as would surely have been the case had it been by Alfred. In this catalogue we are usually told when the work is in English or French and the lack of any such notice here would seem to indicate that it was in Latin. We cannot, of course, be certain that, unless we are told otherwise, the work in question is in Latin, and the “Liber Aluredi” may possibly have been in English. But on the whole the evidence for an English book on Falconry by Alfred is decidedly weak. Nevertheless it is tempting to equate this entry with the “Libri Haroldi” on the same subject mentioned in the “De Avibus Tractatus,” a manuscript written about 1200 and preserved in the Nationalbibliothek at Vienna. The author seems to have been Adelard of Bath, since excerpts from the same tract under Adelard’s name are preserved in a manuscript at Clare College, Cambridge. At the beginning of the tract we are told: “Ea igitur disseremus que et modernorum magistrorum usu didicimus et non minus que Haraoldi regis libris reperimus scripta, ut quicumque his intentus disputationem habeat si negotium exercuit paratus esse possit.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge 1903), p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> See C. H. Haskins, “King Harold’s Books” (*English Historical Review* 37, 398-400).

The King Harold mentioned here is presumably Harold Godwinsson and we know from the Bayeux Tapestry that he was a keen falconer. If he possessed books on the subject they would almost certainly have been in English. That being the case it would be natural enough that the name of King Alfred should later have become attached to them, whether correctly or not. However, connexion between these two notices, though possible, is not very probable. Nor is it likely that either of these have anything to do with another book on hawks mentioned by Daude de Pradas, a contemporary of the Emperor Frederick II:

“ En un libre del rei Enric  
d’Anclaterra lo pros el ric,  
que amet plus ausels e cas  
que non fes anc nuill crestias.”<sup>5</sup>

If the Henry referred to here is Henry I, it is, perhaps, possible that the book may have been in English. But it is more probable that the Henry intended is Henry of Anjou in which case “ the reference is apparently to a lost work in Provençal, whether prepared under the king’s direction or merely dedicated to him does not appear.”

Interesting though these examples may be it is by no means certain that the works referred to were in English. In the case of two of them, in fact, it is rather improbable. Some books may now be noted in this same library of Christ Church, Canterbury, which were definitely in English according to the catalogue drawn up by Prior Henry of Eastry. In this catalogue items no. 296 and 297 are given as follows:

“ 296. Batte super Regulam beati Benedicti.

*In hoc uol. cont.:*

Regula Aluricii glosata Anglice.

Liber sompniorum.

De obseruacione Lune in rebus agendis.

Oraciones Anglice.

<sup>5</sup> See C. H. Haskins, “ The ‘ De Arte Venandi cum Avibus ’ of the Emperor Frederick II ” (*English Historical Review* 36, 347).



297. Batte secundus.

*In hoc uol. cont.:*

Expositiones de Prisciano exposite Anglice.

Locutio latina glosata Anglice ad instruendos pueros.

Propheciam sibille.

Excepciones de gradibus Ecclesie.

Epistole Paschasii pape de ordinacione Radulfi  
Archiepiscopi.

Epistola Johannis pape ad sanctum Dunstanum.

Examinacio Episcopi antequam consecratur.

Regula Beati Benedicti glosata, Anglice.

Omelie et Sermones quedam.

Consuetudines de faciendo seruicio diuino per annum,  
glosate Anglice."<sup>6</sup>

Of these, the first volume has been identified by Dr. James with the British Museum Cott. Tiberius A iii, but the second is not to be identified with any surviving manuscript. However, perhaps fortunately, its contents do not appear to have been of any great interest. The first two pieces may be two of Aelfric's works, the Grammar and the Colloquy, and manuscripts of the Rule of St. Benedict are still extant in English. From the literary point of view there is little of importance in the list; much more interesting are the English books given as items 304 to 320:

*"Libri Anglici.*

- |      |                                      |                      |
|------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 304. | Genesis Anglice depicta.             | (Bodley Junius II ?) |
| 305. | Liber Passionum et Sermones Anglice. |                      |
| 306. | Dialogus beati Gregorii.             |                      |
| 307. | Boeicius de consolatione.            |                      |
| 308. | Herbarius Anglice depictus.          | (Cott. Vit. C iii ?) |
| 309. | Liber Sermonum catholicorum Anglice. |                      |
| 310. | Liber Sermonum beati Augustini, a.   |                      |
| 311. | Cronica uetustissima, a.             | (C.C.C.C. 173)       |
| 312. | Liber de ordine monastico, a.        |                      |
| 313. | Cronica secundum Bedam, a.           | (C.U.L. Kk. 3. 18 ?) |

<sup>6</sup> M. R. James, *op. cit.* p. 50.

314. Textus ÷v Euangeliorum, Anglice. (Royal 1 A xiv)  
 315. Actus Apostolorum, Anglice.  
 316. Liber Sermonum, Anglice.  
 317. Regula Canonicorum, a.  
 318. Cronica Latine et Anglice. (Cott. Dom. A viii)  
 319. Liber Edwini, a.  
 320. Excepciones de Prisciano, a. (C.U.L. Hh. 1. 10?)

Only three of these are to be identified with any certainty with surviving manuscripts, though Dr. James considers that the identification of four others is probable enough. It is possible, too, that some of the volumes of sermons still exist, since the pre-Conquest homiletic literature has not yet been completely explored. The copy of Boethius may be identical with the burnt Otho A vi and in other catalogues we hear of still more English copies of Boethius which have since been lost. In the late fifteenth century catalogue of the library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, we have mention of a "Boecius de consolacione philosophie in Anglicis" in which the opening word on the second folio was "vtterest."<sup>7</sup> Similarly a "Boeties boc on Englisc" figures in the list of books given by Bishop Leofric to the cathedral church at Exeter.<sup>8</sup> The Old English version of Boethius is preserved to-day in three manuscripts only. The earliest of these is the fragment of the burnt Otho A vi which may be identical with the Christ Church copy, but the other two manuscripts can, apparently, be identified with neither of the two manuscripts mentioned here. It is possible that the St. Augustine's copy was a version of one of the later translations by Walton or Chaucer and not an Old English copy at all. Of the other books given here the "Liber de Ordine monastico" was probably a Customary which does not now exist. There seems to be no extant Old English version of the Rule of St. Augustine. As to the "Liber Edwini,"

<sup>7</sup> M. R. James, *op. cit.* p. 51. The identifications given are those of Dr. James pp. xxv ff. and p. 509.

<sup>8</sup> M. R. James, *op. cit.* p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> See *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, with Introductory Chapters by R. W. Chambers, Max Förster and Robin Flower. London 1933, p. 25.

according to Dr. James: "It seems likely that this may have been a somewhat later book (i.e. written after the Conquest), the production of the early twelfth century scribe Eadwin, whose Bible and Psalter occur just afterwards. The last-named is, of course, the famous Canterbury Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge."

It seems that at least half of these Old English works, which still existed in the fourteenth century, have since been lost, and it is surprising that such a comparatively large number should have been preserved. If we turn to other early catalogues we find a very different state of affairs. In a catalogue of the Cathedral Library at Durham which was drawn up in the early part of the twelfth century we find, under the heading of "Libri Anglici," the following manuscripts noted:

"*Libri Anglici*. Omeliaria vetera duo. Unum novum. Elfledes Boc. Historia Anglorum Anglice. Liber Paulini Anglicus. Liber de Nativitate Sanctae Mariæ Anglicus. Cronica duo Anglica."<sup>10</sup>

When later catalogues of the Library were drawn up in 1391 and 1416 all these English books seem to have been already lost. In these catalogues the only book given as being in English is a "Donatus Anglicè" of which the incipit of the second folio is rather misleadingly given as "i. de'or hoc milite."<sup>11</sup> It is possible, perhaps, that some of these books still exist in other collections, but at any rate by 1391 at the latest they had all been scattered from Durham. We have no means of identifying these particular books of homilies from the numerous manuscripts containing Old or Early Middle English homilies. Similarly the brief descriptions of some of the other manuscripts makes identification almost impossible. The "Chronica duo Anglica" may represent two manuscripts of the Old English Chronicle. None of the extant manuscripts of this work were written in the North but the northern material incorporated in them indicates that manuscripts were

<sup>10</sup> *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm* (Surtees Society 7), p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *op. cit.* pp. 33, 111.

produced and kept up in the North. Moreover, Symeon of Durham, writing in the first quarter of the twelfth century, "uses a form of the Saxon Chronicle intimately related to the ancestor of E."<sup>12</sup> The "Historia Anglorum Anglice" is probably an English version of Bede's "Ecclesiastical History" and may possibly be identical with the extant manuscript preserved as Tanner 10 in the Bodleian. Nothing seems to be known of the previous history of this manuscript but, according to Dr. Miller "There is some resemblance in the facsimile to the last letter of the second line in the page of facsimiles given in the Durham Ritual (ed. Stevenson)."<sup>13</sup> But what are we to make of the "Liber Paulini Anglicus"? The Paulinus referred to is presumably the Apostle of Northumbria and the book may simply be an English version of extracts from Bede dealing with him, though this is unlikely. We have no record that Paulinus himself ever wrote any books, much less any English books, though he probably spoke English himself. He was sent to England by Gregory the Great in 602 so that, when he fled from Northumbria in 633, he had been in England for over thirty years. Perhaps the book was some kind of elementary religious instruction written for the benefit of his new converts or, more probably, the entry merely indicates some English book which was traditionally connected with his name. In any case its contents must remain completely unknown. Probably the most interesting of these entries is the item described simply as "Elfedes Boc." No indication is given as to who this Elfed may have been but the entry should probably be taken in conjunction with another Aelfaed of whom we hear in connection with Durham. When the tomb of St. Cuthbert was opened in 1827 there was found in the coffin an embroidered stole, a maniple, a girdle and two golden bracelets. On the reverses of the end of the stole and maniple, in the style of the tenth-century Winchester school, was embroidered the in-

<sup>12</sup> J. Armitage Robinson, "The Saxon Bishops of Wells" (*British Academy Supplemental Papers IV*), p. 13, n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> T. Miller, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, (EETS. 1890), p. xiv.

scription *ÆLFLED FIERI PRECEPIT PIO EPISCOPO FRIÐESTANO*. It seems possible that this stole and maniple is the "unam stolam cum manipulo" which is mentioned amongst the donations made by Athelstan to the shrine of St. Cuthbert during his northern expedition in 934/7. Frithestan was Bishop of Winchester from 909 to 931, in which year he resigned his see, and the stole may have come into the hands of Athelstan on the death of Frithestan in 932-3. The identity of the names suggests that "Elfedes Boc" may also have been one of the gifts of Athelstan to St. Cuthbert. Along with the stole and maniple he is recorded to have presented:

. . . . . unum missalem,  
 et duos evangeliorum textus auro et argento ornatos,  
 et unam sancti Cuthberti vitam metrica et prosaice  
 scriptam."<sup>14</sup>

One of the manuscripts of the Gospels was burnt in the Cottonian fire but, since it is said to have been written in France, it could hardly have been the book mentioned here. The "Life of Cuthbert" is probably identical with the extant MS. C.C.C.C. 183 which is written in Latin. Consequently, it "Elfedes Boc" was given to the Cathedral by Athelstan, and if the complete list of his donations is given in this charter, both only doubtful possibilities, then presumably it was the other manuscript of the Gospels. We have no means of knowing who the Elfled in question may have been, but it is possibly significant that the second wife of Eadward the Elder, the stepmother of Athelstan, was named *Ælfled*.

Towards the end of MS. 367 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a short list of English books is inserted: "Deo englissee passionale and ii englissee dialogas and oddan boc and þe englisca martirlogium and ii englisce salteras and ii pastorales englisce and þe englisca regol and barontus."

In the same manuscript is preserved a letter from Hubert, Abbot of Westminster and Edwius, Prior, to the Prior of Worcester, so that it may originally have belonged to the

<sup>14</sup> W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 685.

cathedral library of Worcester. If so the library no longer possesses any of these manuscripts. The list is not particularly interesting. The "ii pastorales" may be the manuscripts now extant as C.C.C.C. 12 and Hatton 20. The "ii englisce dialogas" are translations of the "Dialogues" of Gregory the Great and, in view of the connexion of the manuscript with Worcester, it may be worth noting that the translation was undertaken by Wærferth, Bishop of Worcester, at the command of King Alfred. Similarly the Old English version of the Martyrologium was probably produced somewhere in West Mercia,<sup>15</sup> though there is no reason to suppose that the book mentioned here is to be identified with any of the extant versions. The "englisca regol" is an Old English version of either the Rule of St. Benedict or of Bishop Chrodegang of Metz. The only item which seems to have perished entirely is the "barontus" which seems to have been an Old English version of the Vision of St. Barontus of Pistoja who flourished during the sixth century.

Nothing seems to be known of the "oddan boc." There are several persons of this name connected with Worcester, the most important being Oda the Good, uncle of St. Oswald of Worcester and Archbishop of Canterbury, who died c. 958. The book is not said to be in English so that it may possibly have been the Latin "Vita Odonis" by Eadmer, based mainly on the first part of the anonymous "Vita Sancti Oswaldi," or some earlier version of these works.

Other catalogues of monastic libraries which have been consulted have furnished little information. In the early twelfth-century catalogue of the Abbey Library at Peterborough preserved in MS. Bodely 163, the only two English manuscripts seem to have been items 54 and 65;

" 54. Vite sanctorum anglice . . . . .

65. Elfredi regis liber anglicus."<sup>16</sup>

The first of these seems to have been a manuscript of Aelfric's

<sup>15</sup> G. Herzfeld, *An Old English Martyrology*, (EETS. 1900), pp. xixff.

<sup>16</sup> M. R. James, "Lists of Manuscripts formerly in the Peterborough Abbey Library" (*Supplement to the Bibl. Soc. Trans.* No. 5, 1926).

“Lives of the Saints” and, in the absence of further information, it is useless to speculate as to which of the translations of Alfred is represented by the second item. We should have expected the monastic library of Glastonbury to have been fairly rich in English books, but when the extant catalogue was drawn up in 1247-8 little of interest remained. Amongst the “*Diuersi libri de bibliotheca*” we have:

“*Penthateucum Moysy & Josuæ sine glosa. vetust.*

*Item duo Anglica vetusta et inutilia.*”

History is represented in English only by a copy of Orosius, presumably one of the copies of Alfred’s translation:

“*Libri Orosii. ii. Latina lingua. tercius in Anglica. vetusti set leg.*”

Homiletic literature is better represented:

“*Liber de diversis sermonibus Anglicis.*

*Item sermones Anglici. vetust. inutil.*

*Passionale Sanctorum Anglice script. vetust. inutil.*

*Item quidem liber Anglice.*”

Medicine is represented by

“*Medicinale Anglicum.*”

But these, apparently, were the only English books which still remained in the library at this date.<sup>17</sup> In the catalogue of the Library of the Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester, which was drawn up in 1202 we have the following works only which seem to have been in English:

“112. *Omeliaria anglica II . . . . .*

162. *Alfricus I . . . . .*

233. *Medicinale anglicum.*”<sup>18</sup>

Again in the fragmentary catalogue of the library of Ramsey Abbey there seems to be only one manuscript which may have been in English. Among the “*Libri Hystoriarum*” there is mention of a “*Chronica Anglica*” but with no further clue by which the precise nature of the manuscript may be investi-

<sup>17</sup> T. Hearne, *Johannis Glastoniensis* (Oxford, 1726), pp. 423-444.

<sup>18</sup> W. B. Rye, “Catalogue of the Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester, A.D. 1202.” (*Archaeologica Cantiana*, iii, 54-61).

gated.<sup>19</sup> In the fourteenth-century catalogue of Rievaulx the sole item which may have been in English is entered as:

“Libri de littera Anglica duo.”<sup>20</sup>

It is impossible to be certain of the exact meaning of this entry. It may simply indicate a book written in English script but not necessarily in English. Perhaps the greatest disappointment of all is provided by the inventory of the books of the cathedral library of Exeter which was drawn up in 1327. Remembering the donations of Bishop Leofric we should have expected that a certain number of English books would have still remained in the Library. Actually the only mention of English books which we find are the following:

“Martirologium Latinum et Anglicum. valet 2s.

Psalterium interlineare glosatura de Anglico. precii. 2s.

Penitentiale vetus et alia plura, cum Anglico in fine. 12d.<sup>21</sup>

Then, at the end of the inventory, we have a tantalizing note to the effect that there were also in the library “multi alii libri vetustate consumpti Gallice, Anglice, et Latine scripti, qui non appreciantur, que nullius valoris reputantur.” Presumably the extant Exeter Book to which we owe so much of our knowledge of Old English poetry was one of these.

The extant thirteenth-century catalogue of Reading Abbey contains no works in English, but the associated church of Leominster possessed one or two:—

“Rotula cum vita sancti Guthlaci anglice scripta . . .

Medicinalis unus anglicis litteris scriptus . . .

Liber qui appellatur landboc.”<sup>21a</sup>

The three extant Old English versions of the life of St. Guthlac, the poem in the Exeter Book and prose versions in two Cotton Manuscripts, can hardly be identified with the subject of this entry since all three are octavo volumes and not rolls. Versions of the life in Middle English verse are also extant in three manuscripts, but all three manuscripts were

<sup>19</sup> *Chronicon Abbatie Ramesiensis* (Rolls Series 83, Appendix III), p. 356.

<sup>20</sup> E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London 1859), pp. 333-341.

<sup>21</sup> G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter* (Exeter 1861, Appendix III), pp. 301-10.

<sup>21a</sup> S. Barfield, “Lord Fingall’s Cartulary of Reading Abbey” (*English Historical Review* iii, 113ff).



copied at a date subsequent to the drawing up of the catalogue. In the Harley collection there is a roll, Harley Roll Y. 6, which contains pictures of the life of St. Guthlac. Nothing seems to be known of the original provenance of this roll nor is it known from what source the Harleys obtained it. It is usually assumed to be a product of Croyland but this seems to be merely a guess from the subject of the roll. In any case the inscriptions are in Latin, not English, and the description in the Leominster catalogue seems to indicate a written work rather than a series of pictures. Presumably it was an earlier version of the Middle English poem or else an extract from one of the legendaries.<sup>21b</sup> The abbey at Burton-on-Trent, according to a catalogue drawn up soon after 1175, had a library of 78 volumes and seven of these were in English, a surprisingly high proportion. The English works consisted of:—

- “ 71. Omeliarum anglicum.
- 72. Psalterium anglicum.
- 73. Passionale anglicum.
- 74. Dialogum Gregorii et historia Anglorum, anglice.
- 75. Apollonium, anglice.
- 76. Evangelistas, anglice.
- 77. Ymnarium, anglice.”<sup>21c</sup>

Considering the date of this catalogue it seems probable that these works were in Old English, but they add little to our knowledge of Old English literature. The extant fragment of the Old English version of Apollonius is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 201, and it is probably merely by coincidence that Old English versions of Gregory's “Dialogues” and Bede's “Ecclesiastical History” are also preserved in Corpus Christi manuscripts. Little seems to be known of the original provenance of these manuscripts, but in no case, apparently, can they be connected with Burton-on-Trent.<sup>21d</sup> According to a thirteenth century catalogue Flaxley

<sup>21b</sup> See W. de Gray Birch, *Memorials of Saint Guthlac*, Wisbech 1881.

<sup>21c</sup> H. Omont, “Anciens catalogues de Bibliothèques anglaises” (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* ix, 201-222).

<sup>21d</sup> I have to thank Dr. C. E. Wright for information on these manuscripts and on the Harley Roll.

Abbey also contained three English books in its library, but no indication of the contents of two of them is given:—

“ 69-70. Duo libri anglici . . .

73. Phisicus liber, anglice.”<sup>21e</sup>

Other monastic catalogues also exist, those for example of Lanthony Priory, of Meaux Abbey, of Leicester, the Grey Friars of Hereford and the Austin Friars of York.<sup>21f</sup> All these seem to have been important collections but, when the catalogues were drawn up, they contained no English books or, if they did, the librarian considered them unworthy of mention.

So far we have been dealing with actual books which can be proved to have existed but of which no trace now remains. This should not lead us to ignore the immense amount of oral literature which must once have existed but of which little record has been preserved. The songs and legends of the common people had little chance of any written existence and, even with such existence, little chance of being preserved. Only odd references to such literature are to be found but it must have been common and, in the early period at any rate, far more important and influential because more widespread, than the written literature which still exists or which we can prove to have existed. Examples of this oral literature have been given by Professor Chambers and by myself (LSE. ii, 13-47), and a few more items dealing with the Old English period may be given here. In that version of the life of St. Ethelbert, King and Martyr, which is preserved in MS. C.C.C.C. 308 we are told how songs were sung before the king telling of the deeds of his ancestors:

“ Nec mora, duo canendi prediti scientia in cordis leticia psallere ceperunt. Erant carmina de regis eiusdem regia prosapia. Quibus ille delectatus abstracta brachio protinus armilla modulantes carmina donat, dum repatriat plurima spondet.”<sup>22</sup>

It is instructive to note that Giraldus Cambrensis, who bases

<sup>21e</sup> H. Omont, *op. cit.* <sup>21f</sup> See E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (London 1911).

<sup>22</sup> M. R. James, “ Two Lives of St. Ethelbert, King and Martyr ” (*English Historical Review*, 32, 214). I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. C. E. Wright of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum.

his own account of the martyr on this life, omits this detail, probably because of the worldly nature of the songs. Ethelbert was the vassal king of East Anglia, but we know little of his ancestors and nothing of the deeds which were celebrated in these songs. He had been summoned to the court of Mercia and there executed by his suzerain Offa in 793. "There was evidently something particularly atrocious about this business, as the young king Aethelbert was reckoned a saint, and became one of the more popular names in the English calendar. Later legends told how he was lured to Offa's court by the promise of the hand of his daughter, Aelfthryth, and then murdered by the contrivance of Queen Cynethryth."<sup>23</sup> But the legends connected with Offa and his wicked queen must have been numerous though brief references are all that remain. Even after the death of that king rumour did not remain silent and legends connected with his burial were still known at the time when Roger of Wendover was writing: "Eodem anno (796) Offa, Rex Merciorum magnificus, constructo fere nobilissimo post inventionem beati Albani monasterio, in villa, quæ Offeleia nuncupatur, juxta multorum opinionem diem clausit extremum; cujus corpus apud villam de Bedefordia delatum, in capella quadam extra urbem, supra ripam Uscae fluminis sitam, more regio dicitur fuisse sepultum. Refert autem usque in hodiernum diem omnium fere comprovincialium relatio, quod capella præfata longo usu et violentia illius fluminis sit subversa, atque ejus rapacitate, cum ipso regis sepulchro, in flumen præcipitata; unde et usque in præsens sepulchrum illud ab hominibus loci, tempore æstivo ibidem balneantibus, quandoque in aquæ profunditate videtur esse conspicuum, et quandoque licet diligentissime quæratur, ac si res fatalis esset, non invenitur."<sup>24</sup>

There seem, too, to have been legends extant concerning St. Kenelm of Mercia, the supposed son of Coenwulf. That king is said to have died in 821 whilst on an expedition against the Welsh, and more or less contemporary authorities confirm the

<sup>23</sup> C. W. C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (London 1929), p. 337.

<sup>24</sup> Roger de Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, Rolls Series 95 (i), p. 402.

fact that he was succeeded on the throne by his brother Ceolwulf. There is, however, a strange legend that Coenwulf left a son Kenelm who was only seven years old at the time of his father's death but was nevertheless acknowledged as king. After reigning only a few days the boy was murdered by the contrivance of his elder sister Cwenthryth, abbess of Winchcombe. The tale appears first of all in Florence of Worcester:

“Rex Merciorum S. Kenulphus, post multa bona quæ in sua vita gessit opera, ad beatitudinem quæ in coelis est transivit perennem, filiumque suum Kenelmum septennen regni reliquit hæredem. Sed paucis mensibus evolutis, germanæ suæ Quendrythæ insidiis, cujus sævam conscientiam dira cupido regnandi armarat, ausu crudelitatis ab Asceberhto, nutritore suo cruentissimo, in vasta sylvaque nemorosa sub arbore spinosa occulte traditur jugulo; verum qui solo teste coelo est jugulatus, coelo teste per columnam lucis postmodum est revelatus. Absciditur caput Kenelmi natalis et innocentiae candore lacteum; unde lactea columba aureis pennis evolat in coelum: post cujus foelix martyrium, Ceolwulfus regnum suscepit Merciorum.”<sup>25</sup>

Giraldus Cambrensis also knew of legends dealing with St. Kenelm and his wicked sister.<sup>26</sup> Later chroniclers all repeat the legend and Roger of Wendover records a distich concerning the saint which was current in his own day:

“Quæ schedula, quoniam Anglicis et aureis litteris fuerat exarata, a Romanis et aliis qui aderant clericis, papa jubente, frustra legi tentatur; sed salubriter Anglus illis adstitit, qui Latinæ linguæ schedulam evolvens, fecit ut Romani pontificis epistola regibus Anglis compatriotam martyrem indicaret. Habebatur autem inter cætera contentum in charta, ‘In clento cou bathe Kenelm kynebearn lith under thorne hæuedes bereaved.’”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Chronicon Florentii Wigorniensis*, E.H.S. 13 (i) p. 65.

<sup>26</sup> *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, Rolls Series 21 (vi), p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> Roger of Wendover, *op. cit.* p. 411. Professor Dickins points out that the emendation to “hazethorne” in the distich would give two reasonably good alliterative lines:

In clento cou bathe	Kenelm kynebearn
lith under hazethorne	hæuedes bereaved.

Other late authorities commemorate the fate of Kenelm under his anniversary (July 17th). Historically there seems to be not the slightest justification for the tale, yet Kenelm became a favourite saint in the Middle Ages, and the place where his body was hidden in a brake was a well-known haunt of pilgrims. Similarly stories seem to have circulated concerning Denewulf, Bishop of Winchester, stories which were known to Florence of Worcester and to William of Malmesbury:

“ Defuncto Dunberhto Wintoniensi episcopo, successit Denewlf. Hic, si famæ creditur, ad multam ætatem non solum litterarum expers, sed etiam subulcus fuit. Eum rex Ælfrædus, hostium violentiæ cedens, et in sylvam profugus, casu sues pascentem offendit; cujus comperto ingenio, litteris informandum tradidit, et postmodum perfectius institutum creavit Wintoniæ præsulem; commentus rem dignam miraculo.”<sup>28</sup>

The life of Alfred provided, of course, much material for legend during the succeeding years as is shown by the tales of the cakes and his adventure in the Danish camp disguised as a harper. Even after death he continued to provide still more material as appears from the strange tale describing the appearance of his ghost which is found in William of Malmesbury and in the “*Liber de Hyda*”:

“ Aiunt Ælfrædum prius in episcopatu sepultum, quod suum monasterium esset imperfectum; mox pro deliramento canonicorum, dicentium regios manes resumpto cadavere noctibus per domos oberrare, filium successorem genitoris tulisse exuvias, et in novo monasterio quietam sedem composuisse.”<sup>29</sup>

Much of the later Matter of England must have been extant in one form or another during the Old English period, though little or no trace of it is found until a much later time. Most of these legends were probably extant only orally and would be forgotten long before they had any chance of a written existence. That such legends did exist we know from the fact that many

<sup>28</sup> Florence of Worcester, *op. cit.* p. 97; a similar account is given in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Series 52), p. 162.

<sup>29</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Rolls Series 90 (i), p. 134; the same account is given in the *Liber de Hyda*.

survived to be written down in the Middle English period. We know also from William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon that ballads on Old English subjects were common at the time at which they were writing. Apparently they were still to be heard much later when Peter of Langtoft was writing his *Chronicle* in French verse. In this work, when dealing with the battle of Ellendoune fought in 825 between Ecgberht of Wessex and Beornwulf of Mercia, he tells us:

“ Desuth Elendoune la guere fu finye.  
 En proverbe auncyen sovent le ay oye,  
 Elendoune, Elendoune, ta terre est rubye  
 Du saunk le ray Bernulphe a sa cravauntye.”<sup>30</sup>

This *Chronicle* was translated into English verse by Robert Mannyng of Brunne who completed his work in 1338. He translates the above lines as:

“ Under Elendoune þe bataile was smyten.  
 Men syng in þat cuntre (fele zit it witen)  
 ‘ Elendoune, Elendoune, þi lond is fulle rede  
 Of þe blode of Bernewolf, þer he toke his dede.’ ”<sup>31</sup>

It is rather difficult to know what exactly to make of this reference. Important as the result of the battle was, we should hardly have expected a battle between Wessex and Mercia to have been remembered so long in the North. Did Robert Mannyng really know of ballads on the subject or is he merely giving a free translation of Peter of Langtoft? It is tempting to relate this quotation with the reference to the same battle which we find in Henry of Huntingdon. After describing the fierceness of the battle he goes on to say:

“ unde dicitur: ‘ Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, fætore tabuit.’ ”<sup>32</sup>

It seems probable that Henry of Huntingdon who translated the “ Battle of Brunanburh ” into Latin knew of an Old English poem, since lost, containing brief descriptions of some of the

<sup>30</sup> *Chronicle of Peter of Langtoft*, Rolls Series 47 (i), 296.

<sup>31</sup> *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle* (as illustrated and improved by Robert of Brunne) . . . ed. T. Hearne, Oxford 1725, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, Rolls Series 74; p. 132.

most famous battles of the Old English period. The different quotations which he gives concerning these battles are possibly a translation into Latin of lines from this poem. It is tempting to assume that the poem was known also to Peter of Langtoft. But the words seem to imply an oral rather than a written source and it is improbable that they are to be directly related to the words of Henry of Huntingdon.

In Robert Mannyng we also find references to Anglo-Scandinavian legends which formed the Matter of England. His reference to the Lay of Havelok the Dane is well-known but, in addition, there are references to legends which no longer exist. Just as the Havelok legend provides an eponymous founder for Grimsby, so we have legends about the founders, real or supposed, of Scarborough and Flamborough. The founders, Scarthe and Flayn, were supposed to have been two followers of one of the early invaders known as Engle from whom the country received its name. Round these two heroes numerous legends had apparently gathered:

“ When Engle hadde þe lond al þorow,  
 He gaf to Scardyng Scardeburghe;  
 Toward þe northe, by þe see side,  
 An hauene hit is, schipes in to ryde.  
 fflayn highte his broþer, als seyþ þe tale  
 þat Thomas made of Kendale;  
 Of Scarthe & fflayn, Thomas seys,  
 What þey were, how þey dide, what weys.  
 Mayster Edmond seis, as me mones,  
 þat þe Engle hadde nynetene sones.  
 þyse nynetene, after þe ffader deuis,  
 Departed þe lond in nynetene partis.  
 Of þo parties fond y non wryten,  
 But o partie þat y can wyten;  
 þe nyneteneþe partie was þat þynge  
 þat langed to seint Edmond þe kyng:  
 þys ys þat oþer skyle y fond  
 Why hit was called Englelond,

Als Maister Edmond þer-of seys,  
& as he seys, y seye þat weys."<sup>33</sup>

Apparently Robert Mannyng knew of two works dealing with the exploits of Engle and Scarthe, one by Master Edmond—probably in French—and one by a certain Thomas of Kendale. Both these books seem to have since disappeared leaving no trace beyond the reference quoted above. A summary of the story as told by Master Edmond is given by Robert Mannyng. In this version Scarthe has come to be regarded as a Briton and not a Scandinavian. According to him, after the Angles had won England a British king of the name of Engle came and laid claim to the land. Fearing Engle and his champion Scardying, the Angles made him king of the land. But Thomas of Kendal evidently told a very different story. He knew a more correct form of the hero's name and told also of his brother Flayn, Professor E. V. Gordon has brought these references in Robert Mannyng into relationship with the account of the foundation of Scarborough as given in *Kormáks Saga*: “þeir brœðr (i.e. Þorgils ok Kormákr Ögmundarsynir) herjuðu um Irland, Bretland, England, Skotland, ok þóttu hinir ágæztu menn. Þeir settu fyrst virki þat er heitir Skarðaborg. Þeir runnu upp á Skotland ok unnu mǫrg stórvirki ok hǫfðu mikit lið; í þeim her var engi slíkr sem Kormákr um afl ok áræði.”<sup>34</sup>

Professor Gordon then goes on to show that the Scarthe and Flayn of English tradition are to be identified with the two brothers Þorgils and Kormákr Ögmundarsynir:

“Here we have two celebrated heroes, Scarthe and Flayn, closely associated in legend. We know that Scarthe gave his name to Scarborough, and not far away we find the name of Flayn given to a stronghold in the same way. Is it likely to be the same Flayn as Skarði's brother, or is it a second Flayn? It was not a common name, and it would be rather odd if two men bearing this rare name could be associated with Skarði. It is indeed a tempting hypothesis to suppose that it was Fleinn

<sup>33</sup> *Chronicles of Robert of Brunne*, Rolls Series 87 (ii), p. 514.

<sup>34</sup> *Kormáks Saga*, cap. xxvii.



the brother of Skarði who gave his name to Flamborough. And if the hypothesis is right, we have further knowledge of Flein's identity. "Kormáks Saga" tells us that the brother of Þorgils Skarði who went with him to England was Kormak the skald. Flamborough might claim a most distinguished founder.

"Whether or not Kormak gave his name to Flamborough, it is clear that he is identical with the Flayn of English romance. Fleinn must have been Kormak's nickname, remembered by English tradition when his real name was forgotten; Skarði's name has precisely the same history. There is no other indication that Kormak had a nickname, but there is a general probability of it, as nearly every Norseman of the time had his *kennigarnafn*. It is worth observing also that *fleinn* would be a fitting soubriquet for one so impulsive and ready to strike as Kormak was. "Kormáks Saga" gave little attention to nicknames, and that of Þorgils would have been lost too, if it had not been imbedded in two of Kormak's verses."<sup>35</sup>

From English tradition, however, we know nothing further of the work of Thomas of Kendal or of Master Edmond and the exploits of Scarthe and Flayn are known only from what Mannyng himself tells us. Since this is the case with tales which we know to have once had a written existence, it is not surprising that others, which were never written down, have left even less trace of their existence. Robert Mannyng, for example, knew of legends which had gathered round the name of a certain Ynge but knew definitely, too, that these legends were extant only in an oral form and had never been written down:

" But of Ynge saw y neuere nought,  
 Neyþer in boke write ne wrought;  
 But lewed men þerof speke & crye,  
 & meyntene al-wey vp þat lye."<sup>36</sup>

It seems improbable that Ynge ever had any historical basis, nor is it probable that he is to be connected with the Ing of the

<sup>35</sup> E. V. Gordon, "Scarborough and Flamborough" (*Acta Philologica Scandinavica* i, 320).

<sup>36</sup> Robert Mannyng, *op. cit.* p. 515.

Runic Poem. Presumably, like Engle, he is simply an eponymous hero formed from the name England who has been provided with an appropriate set of exploits and adventures.

It has always been recognised that the Matter of England represents the oral development of traditional material, but it has usually been supposed that the Matter of Britain is essentially literary in its origins and development. The development of the legend in written literature certainly begins with the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Regum Britanniae," but, if we reject his tale of the British book from which he took his material, we must look about for other sources. Geoffrey himself was half-Welsh and it has usually been assumed that he made use of much of the floating saga material of that country. Nevertheless it does not follow that, before Geoffrey, stories of Arthur were known only in Wales. It is probable enough that they should have spread orally into England, especially from South Wales. Unfortunately references to Arthurian tales are not, as a rule, found before the appearance of Geoffrey's book and, even though the references may seem to indicate an oral rather than a written source, it is difficult to prove that they do not derive ultimately from Geoffrey. Ailred of Rievaulx in his "Speculum Caritatis" tells how a novice confessed to him that he had often been wont to shed tears over the sorrows of a certain Arthur: "Nam et in fabulis, quae vulgo de nescio quo finguntur Arcturo, memini me nonnunquam usque ad effusionem lacrymarum fuisse permotum."<sup>37</sup>

Now Ailred wrote in 1142 and the first draft of Geoffrey's book appeared c. 1136 so that, if the reference is indeed to Geoffrey, it would indicate that his book must have reached the North very early. In the same way Alfred of Beverley, writing about 1143, tells us that, from hearing tales of Arthur, he was led to borrow the work of Geoffrey and this inspired him to write his own Chronicle. It is impossible to be certain whether the stories which were obviously current at the time were, in every

<sup>37</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 195, col. 565.

case, derived from the book, or whether the previous presence of these stories led people to read the book and to believe in its historicity.

It is not probable that much of the Matter of France has been lost nor, judging by the English versions which still exist, would any lost literature on this subject be at all interesting or important. But we do know of one romance which has since been lost, and the mention of it gives an interesting sidelight on the literary relationship between England and Scandinavia. The Old Norse romance " Af Frú Olif ok Landres Syni Hennar " "enjoys the distinction of being the only Norse romance of which we are certain that the original was written, not in Romance or Latin, but in the English language."<sup>38</sup> The opening chapter of the Old Norse account tells us how it came to be translated from Middle English: " Fann þessa sögu herra Bjarni Erlingsson or Bjarkey ritaða ok sagða í ensku máli í Skotlandi, þá er hann sat þar um vetrinn eptir fráfall Alexandri konungs. En konungdóminn eptir hann tók Margrét dóttir virðuligs herra Eireks konungs í Noregi, sonar Magnús konungs, en nefnd Margrét var dótturdóttir Alexandri. Var fyrir því herra Bjarni vestr sendr at tryggva ok staðfesta ríkit undir jungfrúna. En at mönnum sé því ljósari ok megi því meiri nytsemi af hafa ok skemtan, þá lét herra Bjarni hana snara or ensku máli í norrœnu."<sup>39</sup>

Baron Bjarni Erlingsson of Bjarkey was one of the greatest lords of Norway and was employed, at various times, as ambassador to England and to Scotland. The visit to Scotland here referred to took place in 1286 when, after the death of Alexander III, he spent the winter in that country attending to the interests of the Princess Margaret—the Maid of Norway—and assuring her the throne. He returned to Norway in 1287 taking back with him this Middle English romance which, since he found it in Scotland, was presumably written in Northern English. The original has long since disappeared but the

<sup>38</sup> H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, Harvard 1921, p. 241.

<sup>39</sup> C. R. Unger *Karlamagnús Saga ok Kappa Hans*, Christiania 1860, p. 50.

translation made from it is still extant. The literary relationship between England and Scandinavia seems to have remained close throughout most of the Middle Ages. Much of the general French culture of the medieval period seems to have reached the North through England. We remember how Canute had filled the North with English bishops and priests. Later still learned Englishmen seem to have been welcomed at the courts of the Scandinavian kings. Symeon of Durham, for example, tells us how Olaf Kyrre of Norway welcomed to his court a certain clerk named Turgot:

“audito itaque quod clericus de Anglia venisset, quod magnum tunc temporis videbatur, eum ad discendos psalmos quasi magistrum sibi exhibuit. Inter haec satis superque abundabat rebus, regis virorumque nobilium largitate proaffluentibus.”<sup>40</sup>

In Saxo, too, we have a curious note concerning a certain Lucas of England who, during the first campaign of Prince Christopher in 1170, encouraged the Danes to battle by reciting to them the valiant deeds of their ancestors:

“Tunc Lucas, Christofori scriba, nacionis Britannice, literis quidem tenuiter instructus, sed historiarum sciencia apprime eruditus, cum infractos exercitus nostri animos uideret, mestum ac lugubre silencium clara uoce prorumpens, sollicitudinem alacritate mutauit. Siquidem memoratis ueterum uirtutibus, nostros ad exigendam a sociorum interfectoibus ulcionem tanta disserendi pericia concitauit, ut non solum mesticiam discuteret, uerum eciam cunctorum pectoribus fortitudinem ingeneraret, dictuque incredibile fuerit, quantum uirium in nostrorum animos ab alienigene hominis sermone manauerit.”<sup>41</sup>

This traffic in subjects for romance and legend was not, of course, all in one direction. The Anglo-Scandinavian traditions of the Danelaw show how Old Norse subjects were welcomed in England. Throughout the period, more especially in the eastern counties, there seems to have been a constant

<sup>40</sup> Symeon of Durham, Rolls Series 75 (ii), p. 203.

<sup>41</sup> A. Holder, *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, Strassburg 1886, p. 583.

interest in the happenings in the North. The story of Sverrir of Norway, for example, seems to have become known in England at a comparatively early date. Sverrir only managed to win the throne of Norway in 1184 but the story of his life is already known to William of Newburgh writing before 1200,<sup>42</sup> whilst Roger of Hoveden also knew it and considered it worthy of inclusion.

Some half-dozen Breton lays, written at various dates, have been preserved in English, but it is difficult to believe that this is all that were ever composed. Marie de France is usually supposed to have been the first to versify the prose *contes* of these lays. Marie herself wrote in French and, although most of her life is said to have been spent in this country, only two of her known lays are extant in English. In one of her lays she seems to imply that English versions of the Breton lays were extant—possibly written even before she began her own work in French. She speaks of an English lay named "Gotelef" as if she knew of its existence:

“ Pur la joie qu’il ot eüe  
 de s’amie qu’il ot veüe  
 par le bastun qu’il ot escrit,  
 si cum la reïne l’ot dit,  
 pur les paroles remembrer,  
 Tristram, ki bien saveit harper,  
 en aveit fet un nuvel lai.  
 Asez briefment le numerai:  
 ‘ Gotelef ’ l’apelent Engleis,  
 ‘ Chievrefueil ’ le nument Franceis.  
 Dit vus en ai la verité,  
 del lai que j’ai ici cunté.”<sup>43</sup>

If this lay ever did exist it has long been lost. Actually it is difficult to be certain that Marie is speaking of a definite English lay. In another of the lays we are told:

<sup>42</sup> *William of Newburgh*, Rolls Series 82 (i), pp. 228 ff.

<sup>43</sup> K. Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France* (Halle 1900), p. 185.

“ Une aventure vus dirai,  
 dunt li Bretun firent un lai.  
 Laüstic a nun, ceo m'est vis,  
 si l'apelent en lur païs;  
 ceo est russignol en Franceis  
 e nihtegale en dreit Engleis.”<sup>44</sup>

Here the author seems to be merely giving the English and the French equivalents of the Breton word, and does not infer that lays of these names also existed in these languages. The same may possibly be true of the preceding quotation though the words seem rather to favour the existence of an English lay. Marie de France has, however, usually been given the credit of being the first to versify the Breton lays in French and it would be surprising if, contemporary with her or even earlier, versions of these lays were extant also in English.

One of the most surprising things in Middle English literature is the apparent lack of interest in the “Beast Epic.” On the continent huge poems were composed dealing with the adventures of Reynard the Fox, but in England, before Caxton, only two isolated episodes from this epic are known, the thirteenth-century poem on the “Vox and the Wulf” and Chaucer’s Nun’s Priest’s Tale. But we know from other evidence that the tale was popular in England and it seems probable that the lack of material is due rather to accident than to any lack of interest. In the catalogue of the Library of Dover Priory compiled in 1389 by John Whytefeld, item no. 170 is apparently a volume of miscellaneous tracts the contents of which is given as:

“ 170.	<i>Tract.</i>	<i>folio.</i>	<i>Incipit.</i>
	Libellus de matre beati thome cantuariensis.		Electus igitur ante con- stitutus
	Actus in exilium beati thome cant.	10a.	Honor et gloria beati
	Vita beati thome cantua- riensis in gallicis.	20a.	Adeu loenge et soun

<sup>44</sup> K. Warnke, *op. cit.* p. 146.

Fabula de Wlpe medici (-o ?) in angl.	34b.	Hit by ful whylem
Parabole isopi greci metrificate.	38b.	Adaneis satus
La Romonse de ferumbras		Seygnours ore escuc' (-tes)
Gesta octouiani imperatoris in gallicis.	123a.	Le deu qui en la crois
Stulticie mundi principales in gallicis.	164b.	Qui nul bien ne soyt
Recordacio passionis in gallicis.	166a.	Vn poy escutes
Libellus de caritate in gallicis.	173a.	Chescun home dere
Gesta karoli magni in gallicis.	178b.	Ore escutz seignouris
Cato in gallicis.	199b.	Seignours oyez
Mrônū vtilitas in gallicis.	203b.	Ore voz volum monstren
Prouerbia hendung in angl.	206a.	Ihesu crist al þys." <sup>45</sup>

Apparently the fourth item in this volume, the "Fabula de Wlpe medici," is a lost episode in the vernacular from the Reynard cycle. There are a number of tales about Reynard which might have come under such a heading as this and it is impossible to make out the exact one which is referred to here. It may possibly be that of which we find a French version in the "Fables" of Marie de France, where the Fox prescribes the heart of a hare for the sick lion.<sup>46</sup> Another such tale tells how the beasts all assembled together to condole with, and bring remedies for, the sick lion. The fox alone is absent and his absence is duly commented on unfavourably by Isengrim the Wolf. However when the fox does arrive he revenges himself on Isengrim by prescribing that the lion should be wrapped in the newly-flayed skin of a wolf. There are other tales, too,

<sup>45</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge 1903, p. 460.

<sup>46</sup> K. Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, Halle 1898, "De leone aegrotanti," pp. 227-31.

which would fit such a heading but, whichever of them may have been represented here, this vernacular version has long been lost and we know of its existence only from this entry in the Dover catalogue. We may note also that in this same volume appeared a version of the "Proverbs of Hending." Other manuscripts of this text are, of course, still extant and it is doubtful if the preservation of this manuscript would have added anything to our knowledge of the text. It may be noted that the incipit given here is apparently a version of the beginning of the second stanza in the text as printed by Skeat.<sup>47</sup>

It is difficult to tell how long the medieval legends retained their popularity. Many of the old themes survived to become the subjects of ballads and some of the heroes of romance are still to be found in Elizabethan chap-books. The antiquary Leland, during the course of his travels, found many of the old legends still flourishing. The fame of Wada still survived in a garbled form for "Mougreve [i.e. Mulgrave] Castelle stondith on apon a craggy-hille: and on ech side of it is an hille far higher then that whereon the castelle stondith on. The north hille on the toppe of it hath certen stones comunely caullid Waddes Grave, whom the people there say to have bene a gigant and owner of Mougreve."<sup>48</sup>

In another case we find that local tradition has transformed the Old English word *eoten* or the ON. *jötunn* into the proper name of a giant:

"By this broke as among the ruines of the olde town is a place caullid Colecester, wher hath bene a forteres or castelle. The peple there say that ther dwellid yn it one Yoton, whom they fable to have bene a gygant."<sup>49</sup>

Guy of Warwick was still remembered and the very place where he fought his duel with Colbrand was still pointed out:

<sup>47</sup> See also Max Förster, "Eine verlorene Handschrift der Sprüche Hending's" (*Herrigs Archiv*, 115 165).

<sup>48</sup> L. Toulmin Smith, *The Itinerary of John Leland*, London 1907, I, 59; in this connexion we may note that the name Wada seems to lie behind the old forms of the modern "Wat's Dyke," see C. Fox, "Wat's Dyke" (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Dec. 1934).

<sup>49</sup> *op. cit.* IX, 57.



“ On the south side of Hyde Abbay betwixt it and the waulle is a medow caullid Denmark, wher the fame is that Guido Erle of Warwik killid great Colebrande the Dane *singulari certamine*.”<sup>50</sup>

In the same way the cave in which, after his return to England, he dwelt as a hermit was still pointed out:

“ There is a right goodly chapell of St. Mary Magdalene upon Avon river, *ripa dextra*, scant a myle above Warwike. This place of some is caulyd Gibclif, of some Guy-clif; and old fame remayneth with the people there, that Guydo Erle of Warwike in K. Athelstan’s dayes had a great devotion to this place, and made an oratory there. Some adde unto (it), that aftar he had done great victories in outward partes, and had bene so long absent that he was thought to have bene deade, he came and lyved in this place lyke an heremite, onknowne to his wife Felicia ontyll at the article of his deathe he shewyd what he was. Men shew a cave there in a rok hard on Avon ripe, where they say that he usyd to slepe. Men also yet showe fayr springs in a faire medow thereby, where they say that Erle Guido was wont to drinke.”<sup>51</sup>

Such references are not, however, particularly surprising since Guy was one of the favourite medieval heroes and references to the romance are numerous. A more interesting reference possibly tells of a lost cycle of romance:

“ Arden dwelling at . . . . by Alcestre in Wicestreshire is of a very auncient stok, and, as sum say, derivith his linage from Syr Gerarde of Arden that was yn Guy of Warwikes tyme.”<sup>52</sup>

This may, of course, merely be an example of a late family tradition concocted to glorify this particular family. If indeed it implies that there was once a romance cycle centring round Gerard of Arden, as round Guy of Warwick, all trace of it has long been lost.

At the time of Leland’s travels King Athelstan was still a great figure in legend and it is surprising to find traditions of

<sup>50</sup> *op. cit.* III, 272.

<sup>51</sup> *op. cit.* V, 45; see also “ Guy’s cliffe Ho.” in EPNS. xiii, 264.

<sup>52</sup> *op. cit.* VIII, 80.

him as a patron of numerous towns surviving in Cornwall and Devon. Such legends may have a foundation in fact but history knows nothing of his work in these counties. Legends of Brunanburh still remain and there is nothing particularly surprising in finding the battle located near Axminster:

"The chirch of Axmistre is famos by the sepultures of many noble Danes slain in King Æthelstanes time at a batel on Brunedoun therby: and by the sepultures likewise (of) sum Saxon lordes slain in the same feld."<sup>53</sup>

There are too many local traditions about the battle of Brunanburh for this ascription to have much weight. It is more interesting to note that legends dealing with the brother of king Athelstan were still extant: "In this forest or wood [i.e. Morfe] (as some constantly affirme) Kynge Ethelstane's brother ledde in a rokke for a tyme an heremite's lyfe. The place is yet sene and is caulld the Heremitage."<sup>54</sup>

The life of Athelstan seems to have been a favourite subject for romance and legend, more especially during the early medieval period. William of Malmesbury knew of legends telling of his birth and of the murder of his brother Edwin which, as he says, were still celebrated in ballads by the country people.<sup>55</sup> The legend of the drowning of Edwin was known also to Symeon of Durham who likewise blames Athelstan:

"Anno DCCCCXXXIII. sanctus Frithestanus obiit. Rex Ethelstanus jussit fratrem suum Edwinum in mare submergi."<sup>56</sup>

Saint Chad, the apostle of Mercia, was still remembered at Alcester since "The people there (Alcester) speke mucche of one S. Cedde Bysshope of Lichefeld, and of injuries there done to him."<sup>57</sup>

And memory of him still lived on at Lichfield itself:

"Stow-churche in the est end of the towne (Lichfield), whereas is St. Cedd's well, a thinge of pure watar, where is sene

<sup>53</sup> *op. cit.* III, 243.

<sup>54</sup> *op. cit.* V, 86.

<sup>55</sup> *Gesta Regum*, Rolls Series 90 (i), pp. 155 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, Rolls Series 75 (ii), p. 124.

<sup>57</sup> Leland, *op. cit.* V, 51.

a stone in the botom of it, on the whiche some say that Cedde was wont nakyd to stond on in the watar, and pray. At this stone Cedd had his oratorie in the tyme of Wulphere Kynge of the Merchis."<sup>58</sup>

An interesting entry concerns Oxney and is, no doubt, concerned with some local tradition which has long since been lost:

"Yet parte of Oxeney in Kent, and part in Southsax. Sum say that it is or hath bene al in Southsax. Sum caulle it Forsworen Kent, by cause that were the inhabitantes of it were of Southsax they revoltid to have the privileges of Kent."<sup>59</sup>

So far we have been dealing mainly with the romances and legends of the Middle English period. This is, no doubt, by far the most interesting section of the lost literature but it is only fair to remember that much of the didactic and religious literature of the period has also been lost. A glance at the works of Bale is enough to give some idea of the mass of this lost religious and didactic literature. Many manuscripts would be completely worn out by the hands of generations of pious readers, and much more must have perished on the break-up of the monastic libraries. Much, too, of the polemical literature of the period would be as ephemeral as it is to-day. No doubt the proportion of didactic and religious literature which has been preserved is far greater than is the case with any other kind, the mere fact that it must all have been written down, whereas much of the literature of romance depended on oral transmission for its existence, would partly account for this. Here we shall give only a few examples of this lost religious literature in the vernacular. In a manuscript preserved as Harley 1706, containing matter ascribed to Richard Rolle, Dr. G. R. Owst finds mention of a book "cleped Toure of all Toures"<sup>60</sup> though all trace of such a book seems to have long since been lost. Again in the records of the Benedictine monastery of St.

<sup>58</sup> *op. cit.* V, 99.

<sup>59</sup> *op. cit.* VIII, 63.

<sup>60</sup> G. R. Owst, *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England*, p. 78, n. 5.

Swithin's, Winchester, we find mention of payments made to minstrels who entertained the monks, amongst others:

"cantabat ioculator quidam nomine Herebertus canticum Colbrondi, necnon gestum Emmae reginae a iudicio ignis liberate, in aula prioris."<sup>61</sup>

The "canticum Colbrondi" was doubtless some version of the romance of Guy of Warwick, since Colbrond was the name of the Danish warrior vanquished by that hero. The "gestum Emmae reginae" probably told of some legend concerning Emma, the wife of Ethelred II and later of Canute. Legends about her seem to have flourished more especially at Winchester. According to one of them, she was accused of adultery and imprisoned by her son Edward the Confessor. In order to clear herself she demanded to be allowed to undergo the ordeal of the red-hot ploughshares. By the help of St. Swithin the ordeal was carried through successfully to the great honour of his monastery<sup>62</sup>. It is possible that these legends were told in Latin by Herebertus though at this date, 1338, it seems more probable that the language of a 'ioculator' would have been English or French. But if an English version of the "gestum Emmae reginae" ever existed it has long since been lost. Some of the English writings of Wyclif have also been lost. This is not particularly surprising since most of his works were probably deliberately destroyed in his own lifetime. For many of them, in fact, we are dependent on manuscripts of Bohemian origin preserved only on the continent. About the time when his personal influence was at its height he issued a work entitled "The Thirty Three Conclusions on the Poverty of Christ," which was written in English as well as in Latin; of these versions, however, the Latin only is extant to-day.<sup>63</sup> The early-sixteenth century catalogue of the library of the Brigetine monastery of Syon<sup>64</sup> shows a fair amount of religious and

<sup>61</sup> T. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, from the Twelfth to the close of the Sixteenth century, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 1871, ii, 97.

<sup>62</sup> *Annales de Wintonia*, ed. H. R. Luard in *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, 36 (ii), p. 20ff.

<sup>63</sup> H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif*, Oxford 1926, i, 312.

<sup>64</sup> ed. M. Bateson, London, 1898.

didactic literature which has since perished. By this date, of course, it is impossible to be certain whether the book in question is a printed work or whether it is in manuscript since the catalogue gives no information on this point. Moreover until the promised bibliography of "Fifteenth Century Writings in English" by Professor J. E. Wells is available, it is not possible to be certain that the work in question does not still exist. Most of the English works are quite uninteresting but some of them may be noted here:

## B 6

. . . . . Tractatus in anglico de medicinis & vnguentis, & eorum vsu & confectione. f. 203 . . . . .

## B 29

. . . . . Dietarium rithmizatum in Anglicis . . . . .

## B 40

Tractatus de medicinis in anglicis

## M 17

. . . . . Vita trium Regum Colonie in anglicis, f. 89. Vita sancti Ieronimi in anglicis cum Epistolis Augustini & Cirilli in latinis, f. 116. De leone sancti Ieronimi in fine libri in anglicis.

## M. 86

. . . . . Vita beati Francisci Confessoris, in anglico, f. 121

## T. 34

. . . . . Sentencie generales in anglico, f. 2 . . . . .

Other English works are given in the index but are not to be found in the catalogue itself. Amongst others we have the following:

*Elizabeth* de howngria in suis reuelacionibus in anglica. M 20.

*Rogerus* frater de Syon in suis sermonibus in anglica. S 36.

Sanctus *Thomas* de Alquino . . . . . Idem in opere solenni super lucam & Iohannem in anglico. H 43 . . . . .

As a rule the monk responsible for the catalogue tells us when the work in question is not written in Latin. This does not, however, seem to be invariable since in several works where no information is given on this point the incipit to the second

folio, given by the cataloguer for the purpose of identifying the book, seems to be in English. Following are three of the manuscripts which, judging by the incipits, seem to have been written in English though we are not told so definitely:

B 31                      2. fo. oute of

Experimenta medicinalia quasi per totum librum cum  
quarundam herbarum virtutibus intermixtis.

S 57                      2. fo. a questyone

Sermones M. Willelmi lychfelde. Item tractatus de 10  
mandatis.

S 58                      2. fo. I muste

Sermones multi cum tabula.

None of these entries is particularly interesting. They do, however, serve as a warning against the danger of imagining that only the lighter sides of literature have suffered loss.

It has long been realised that the extant Middle English lyric poetry represents a mere fraction of what was actually composed. Much of our knowledge of this poetry depends on the chance preservation of a few manuscripts containing collections of these lyrics. Such collections, however, were probably comparatively rare even in Middle English times. Much that was composed was probably never written down and much that is still extant has been preserved only by the merest accident. Odd snatches of song have been jotted down on the margins of manuscripts just as they happen to have caught the fancy of some hearer. A glance through the standard editions of Professor Carleton Brown will show in what unexpected places odd snatches of medieval lyric have been found. The earliest Middle English lyric of which we know, the so-called song of the monks of Ely, has been preserved in the chronicles of the monastery only because some monkish historian considered it significant as indicating the importance of the foundation as early as the reign of Canute. According to the legend Canute, whilst being rowed near the monastery in his barge, was greatly attracted by the chanting of the monks which he could hear. Thereupon he himself extemporised the lyric:

“ ipsemet (i.e. Canute) ore proprio jocunditatem cordis exprimens, cantilenam his verbis Anglice composuit, dicens, cujus exordium sic continetur:

Merie sungen ðe Muneches binnen Ely.

ða Cnut ching reu ðer by.

Roweð cnites noer the land.

and here we þes Muneches sæng.”

et cætera quæ sequuntur, quæ usque hodie in choris publice cantantur et in proverbii memorantur.”<sup>65</sup>

If we could believe this legend we must regard Canute as the earliest writer of lyric poetry in English. Actually the earliest lyric writer whose name we know seems to be St. Godric, the hermit of Finchal. He seems to have led an adventurous life and, thanks to his biographers, more especially to the monk Reginald of Durham, we know quite a lot about him personally. But practically the whole of his lyric poetry has been lost. Fragments of three of his lyrics are all that remain and they happen to have been preserved because they are quoted by his biographers and in some of the contemporary Latin Chroniclers.<sup>66</sup>

It seems to have been a favourite practice of Medieval preachers to quote from the vernacular in their Latin sermons and fragments of many lost lyrics are found embedded in Latin sermons.<sup>67</sup> This is not, perhaps, so surprising when we remember that in one of the most famous of all Medieval sermons, the preacher takes as his text the opening lines of a French love poem or *lai*, “ Bel Aliz matin leva.” This sermon was for long ascribed to Stephen Langton who seems to have done a good deal of his preaching *in vulgari*.<sup>68</sup> However such ascription is apparently no longer possible.<sup>69</sup> Snatches of medieval lyric

<sup>65</sup> D. J. Stewart, *Liber Eliensis*, London 1848, p. 202.

<sup>66</sup> For St. Godric and his extant works see J. Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English*, Oxford, 1920, i, 5; ii, 241-5.

<sup>67</sup> See G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, pp. 231, n. 1; 272; 273, n. 3; etc.: *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England*, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, p. 42.

<sup>69</sup> See A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire française spécialement au XIII siècle*, pp. 91-4.

may be found in almost any kind of work, in Latin Lives of the Saints, or in books of edification. In connexion with the latter kind of work we may note the two lines which we find in the "Ancren Riwele":

"euer is þe eie to þe wude leie,  
þerinne is þet ich luuie"<sup>70</sup>

These lines were taken to be a contemporary proverb by the editor, but, as Professor Carleton Brown points out, they read much more like a quotation from some popular love song. The version given in the Cleopatra manuscript is interesting:

"ach eauer is þe echze to þe wodeleze  
& þe halte bucke climbeð þeruppe.  
Twa & þreo hu feole beoð þeo.  
þreo halpenes makeð a peni."

It almost looks as though the scribe of this manuscript knew the song himself and were quoting from a different verse. Here, too, we may note the lines found in two manuscripts in the cathedral library of Worcester. The volume catalogued as "F. 64. Libri sententiarum II, III, IV" has eight leaves of other matter at the beginning, on the last of which appear the lines in English:

"He may cume to mi lef bute by þe watere.  
wanne me lust slepen þanne moti wakie  
Wnder is þat hi liuie."<sup>71</sup>

Similarly at the end of "Q. 50. Expositio Donati" are "five apparently amatory, but (as they are written) unintelligible English verses, subscribed, 'dixit Robertus seynte Mary clericus'."<sup>72</sup> These lines are given by Professor Dickins as:

"Explicit expliceat ludere scriptor eat  
Qui scripsit carmen sit benedictus amen  
Ne saltou neuer leuedi tuynklen

<sup>70</sup> J. Morton, *The Ancren Riwele* (Camden Society 1852), p. 96.

<sup>71</sup> J. K. Floyer and S. G. Hamilton, *Catalogue of Manuscripts preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral*, Oxford 1906, p. 30.

<sup>72</sup> *op. cit.* p. 133. The two fragments have been edited with full commentary by Professor Dickins, "Two Worcester Fragments of Middle English Secular Lyric," *LSE.* iv. 44).



Wyt þin eyen hic abbe ydon al myn youth  
 ofte. ofte. ant ofte. longe yloued ant  
 yerne ybeden ful dere it his a bout.  
 dore go þou stille go þou stille e yat hic  
 abbe in þe boure ydon al myn uyllee.”

Similarly at the end of a fifteenth-century manuscript whose contents are described as “Provinciale, Sermons, etc.” and which is preserved in Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, we find the following verses:

“ I haue grete marvell off a bryd  
 That w<sup>t</sup> my luff ys went a way  
 Sho byldis hyr a noþer sted  
 Ther ffore I morne both nyght & day  
 I cothe neuer serffe þ<sup>t</sup> bryd to pay  
 Ne frenchypp w<sup>t</sup> hyr con I none ffynd  
 bot ffast ffro me she fflys a way  
 a las þ<sup>t</sup> euer sho was unkynd  
 a las qui is sho w<sup>t</sup> me wroth  
 & to þ<sup>t</sup> bryd I trespass noght  
 3e gyff sho be neuer so lothe  
 Sho shall come owte off my thought  
 Now off me sho gyffis ryght noght  
 bot byldis hus fer under a lynd  
 In bitter balns sho has nu boght  
 a las þ<sup>t</sup> euer sho was unkynd  
 a las qui is þis brydis . . . . .  
 I wen . . . . . luff . . . . .”<sup>73</sup>

These snatches of lyric are found in the most inappropriate books. Any blank piece of vellum seems to have been regarded as a suitable place for the recording of an odd verse which has stuck in the hearer’s mind or for the writing down of their own compositions. We even find a fourteenth-century lyric on the back of a papal bull. In 1199 Pope Innocent III issued a bull to the Priory of St. James by Exeter. This was

<sup>73</sup> R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, Oxford 1927, p. 95.

copied in a contemporary hand and on the back of this copy some fourteenth-century writer has noted down a lyric beginning "Bryd one brere."<sup>74</sup> We find medieval lyrics in even more surprising places. A fragment of a Middle English love song has been scribbled on one of the pillars of the now half-ruined church at Duxford, Cambs.:

" With wiel my herte is wa  
 & cloyd ys wt care  
 L & S sekurly  
 (Ca)use me to syth full far [sar ?]  
 I & . . . . .  
 . . . . . for to smarte  
 V & . . . . . Y withall  
 . . . . . joy come to thin hert."

A lyric rather more suitable to the surroundings has also been scratched on the wall of Barrington church, Cambs.:

" lo fol how the day goth  
 Cast foly now to the cok  
 Ryth sone tydyth the wroth  
 It ys almast xii of the klok."<sup>75</sup>

And so, in addition to the regular manuscript collections, in odd places here and there we can catch glimpses of a rich medieval lyric literature, the greater part of which has since perished. But a glimpse is all that can be caught. In the Middle English romance "Richard the Lion-Heart" we read how the sailors

" . . . . . rowede hard, and sungge ther too:  
 ' With heuelow and rumbeloo.' "<sup>76</sup>

but the songs which they sung, like the songs of the Sirens, we can never know. Too often we are tantalized by references which give us only an odd stanza, or even a single line, of some song which must have been well-known to the author and his

<sup>74</sup> J. Saltmarsh, "Two Medieval Love Songs set to Music" (*Antiquaries' Journal*, xv, pp. 1 ff.).

<sup>75</sup> G. G. Coulton, "Medieval Graffiti" (*Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, vol. xix and *Medieval Studies, Second Series*, No. 12, London 1915), p. 57.

<sup>76</sup> H. Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh 1810, ii, 99.

contemporaries. Giraldu Cambrensis, for example, in his "Gemma Ecclesiastica," tells the well-known tale of the priest who, whilst celebrating mass, found that his mind was full of a 'carole' which had been sung in the church-yard all the night. Consequently, when dismissing the people, instead of saying the words "Dominus vobiscum" he inadvertently used the words of the refrain of this 'carole' saying "Swete lamman dhin are," an occurrence which caused a terrible scandal in the neighbourhood.<sup>77</sup> The words quoted by Giraldu are actually found as one of the lines of a lyric preserved in MS. Harley 2253, but this manuscript was not written until a century after the time of Giraldu and it is unlikely that that lyric is at all like the 'carole' of which the priest was thinking. In another story which is not quite so well-known Giraldu gives us, in English, a monkish pledge and the response:

"Ubi et . . . . res quasi saeculares deri(den)tes, ipsos nimia abstinentia afflictos esse putantes, talem provocationem ad bene potandum, Anglico more, necnon et Anglice, tanquam *Wesseil* proponentes audivit:

"Loke nu frere,  
Hu strong ordre is here."

Et responsonem hanc quasi loco *drincheil* :

"Ihe, la ful umis,  
Swide strong ordre is dhis."

cum capitis quoque non seria quidem sed tanquam irrisoria concussione. Quod et Latinis verbis sic exponi potest: "Vide frater quia fortis est hic ordo nimis;" et responsio: "Vere intolerabilis est hic ordo frater, et importabilis."<sup>78</sup>

The old objection to the monopoly of all the best tunes by the devil is also to be found during the medieval period. In the Red Book of Ossory is preserved a collection of Latin hymns in a fourteenth-century hand. Prefixed to these, and in the same hand, are tags of English and Anglo-Norman songs. A note in the manuscript informs us that the Latin hymns were

<sup>77</sup> *Giraldu Cambrensis*, Rolls Series 21 (ii), p. 120.

<sup>78</sup> *Giraldu Cambrensis*, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, Rolls Series 21 (iv), p. 209.

composed by the Bishop of Ossory, perhaps Richard de Lesdrede who was bishop from 1318-60, in order to displace "cantilene teatrales turpes et seculares." It seems probable, as Wells suggests, that the tags are quoted from these ballads in order to indicate the airs to which the hymns were to be sung. Following are the odd lines of the half-dozen English lyrics which have been preserved in this way:

1.           Alas hou shold y syng,  
              Yloren is my playnge  
              Hou sholdy wiz zat olde man  
              To leuen and let my leman,  
                  Swettist of al zinge.
2.           Haue mercie on me frere: Barfote zat ygo.
3.           Do. Do. nightyngale syng full myrie;  
              Shal y neure for zyn loue lengre karie.
4.           Haue God day my leman.
5.           Gaueth me no garlond of grene  
              Bot hit ben of Wythones yuroght.
6.           Hey how ze cheualdoures woke al nyght.

Of these no. 3 is repeated again in slightly different form:

Do. Do. nyztyngale syng wel miry;  
Shal y neure for zyn loue lengre kary.

In addition there are two fragments of French love songs:

1.           Harrow! ieo su trahy  
              Par fol amor de mal amy.
2.           Heu alas pur amour,  
              Qy moy myst en taunt dolour.<sup>79</sup>

Not one of these songs seems to be known elsewhere and this is probably significant as giving some indication of the richness of the Middle English lyric literature.

Occasionally we know only the first line of some Middle English lyric which has otherwise been lost. It will be remembered that in the Nun's Priest's Tale, Chauntecleer and Pertelote on arising sang "in sweete accord, 'My lief is faren in

<sup>79</sup> J. E. Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English, Third Supplement*, p. 1176; see also St. John D. Seymour, *Anglo-Irish Literature 1200-1582*, Cambridge 1929, p. 97.

londe.' ” We have been fortunate in this case since the stanza of a song of which this is the first line was discovered in a manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, by Professor Skeat and is, no doubt, the song of which Chaucer was thinking. No such good fortune is to be met with in the case of a fifteenth century poem on the *Timor Mortis* theme. In one of the stanzas of this poem we are given the first line of two other lyrics, one in English and one in French:

“ Whoso woll beholde and se  
 Pys wordill mutabill variance,  
 How vayne glorie and false filyte  
 Pat eternaly may no man avance,  
 And in p̄ys wordyll wanne borne whe be  
 To wo, travayle, and to penance,  
 And how deth is 3eff vs in fe,  
 Whe schold neuer lust, hop, ne dawnce,  
 Noȝer syng no song of p̄is new ordenance,  
 As, ‘ Herte myne, well may pou be, glad and lusty  
 to be ’  
 Or ellys, ‘ Ma bell amour, ma ioy en esperance.’  
 But sey, ‘ Timor mortis conturbat me.’ ”

As in the case of the *Ossory Fragments*, the stanza “ provides a new bit of evidence for the preoccupation of medieval religious men with the replacing of frivolous songs by grave and spiritual ones.”<sup>80</sup> Apart from the snatches given here, presumably either the first line or else the refrain, nothing is known of the two lyrics from which the author quotes. Again, in the tale of the *Dancers of Colbeck*, as told by Robert Mannyng of Brunne we read how they sung in their ‘ carole ’:

“ Equitabat Beuo per siluam frondosam,  
 Ducebat secum Merswyndam formosam.  
 Quid stamus? cur non imus? ”

and then follows an English version:

“ By þe leued wode rode Beuolyne,

<sup>80</sup> R. L. Greene, “ A Middle English ‘ Timor Mortis ’ Poem ” (*Modern Language Review*, 28, 235).

Wyȝ hym he ledde feyre Merswyne;  
 Why stonde we? why go we noȝt?"<sup>81</sup>

It seems probable that this English is simply Robert Mannyng's version of the Latin and the change in the names is only for the sake of the rhyme. Still it may possibly represent an English version current at the time.

A class of medieval poetry which has left little trace behind it is that of the soldier's songs. It is not surprising that songs of this kind should only occasionally and accidentally achieve a written existence. Such poetry is essentially oral and popular and has little chance of being written down at a time when the art of writing is still a prerogative of the clergy. The name of one writer of such songs is known to us, that of Laurence Minot who seems to have acted as a kind of unofficial Poet Laureate to Edward III, but for the most part, as we should expect, those of them which have survived are quite anonymous. Probably the earliest example of this type of poetry which still exists is the fragment of a song which is said to have been sung by the followers of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, during their ravages in the Fen Country. In one of the manuscripts of the "Historia Anglorum" of Matthew Paris there is preserved the tradition that the earl and his followers mockingly sang of their wild doings:

"Facti enim amentes cantitabat unusquisque Anglice,  
 I ne mai a liue  
 For Benoit ne for Ive."<sup>82</sup>

The references here are apparently to the seizure and fortification of the Benedictine monastery of Ramsey and to the destruction of the town of St. Ives by Geoffrey and his followers. It is interesting to note that, on the evidence of this fragment, some of his mercenaries in the ravaging of the Fen Country must have been Englishmen. A close analogy to this is the line or two of a song given by the same author and said to have been sung by the Flemish mercenaries of the Earl of Leicester in 1173 whilst they ravaged the countryside:

<sup>81</sup> F. J. Furnivall, *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne* (EETS. 1901) lines 9045 ff.

<sup>82</sup> J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, London 1892, p. 213.

“ Qui etiam, quando ad aliquam planitiem gratia pausandi  
diverterant, choreas ducentes patria lingua saltitando cantabant,  
“ Hoppe, hoppe, Wilekin, hoppe, Wilekin,  
Engelond is min ant tin.”<sup>83</sup>

But by far the greater number of such songs which have been preserved are those which deal with the wars with Scotland. Parts of songs composed by both Scots and English against each other have been preserved, mainly in contemporary chronicles. A good number of these, usually translated into French, are found in the Chronicle of Peter of Langtoft. Occasionally, when he seems to have tired of the work of translation, the English original still remains. When Robert Mannyng translated the Chronicle of Peter of Langtoft into English verse he restored the original English of these songs and occasionally he gives us an expanded version showing that they were known also to him and that he is not simply translating Peter of Langtoft. Similar songs are quoted by the author of “The Brut” and by Fabyan in his Chronicle. The following is said to have been sung by the English at the siege of Dunbar:

“ & þo saide þe Engliſſhe-men in reprof of þe Scottis:—

“ Thus staterand Scottes,  
holde y for sottes,  
of wrenches vnwar,  
Erly in a mornynge,  
in an euel tyming  
went 3e fro Dunbarr.”<sup>84</sup>

Similarly, in Fabyan we have the stanza of a song said to have been made by the Scots after the relief of Berwick:

“ What wenys kynge Edward with his lange shankys  
To haue wonne Berwyk all our unthankys  
Gaas pykes him  
And whan he hath it  
Gaas dykis hym.”<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series 44 (i), p. 381.

<sup>84</sup> F. W. D. Brie, *The Brut* (EETS. 1906-8), p. 190; a slightly different version of the same stanza is found also in *Fabyan's Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, p. 398.

<sup>85</sup> *Fabyan*, p. 398.

Both authors, too, give us the first stanza of a song said to have been sung by the Scots after the defeat of the English at Bannockburn: "þerfore maidenés made a songe þerof, in þat contre, of Kyng Edward of Engeland and in þis maner þai songe:

Maydenes of Engelande, sare may 3e morne,  
 For tynt 3e haue 3oure lemmans at Bannokesborn  
     wip heualogh  
 What wende þe Kyng of Engeland haue ygete Scot-  
     lande  
 wip Rombylogh."<sup>86</sup>

Wyntoun, one of the earliest Scottish chroniclers in the vernacular, gives us eight lines of a popular lament for the death of Alexander III:

" Pis sange was made of hym forþi:  
     ' Qwhen Alexander our kynge was dede,  
     þat Scotlande lede in lauche and le,  
     Away was sons of alle and brede,  
     Off wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle.  
     Our golde was changit in to lede.  
     Crist, borne in virgynyte,  
     Succoure Scotlande, and ramede,  
     þat is stade in perplexite.' "<sup>87</sup>

In the following book we have a fragment of song made by the English against Black Agnes of Dunbar:

" Off þis (seige) in þar heythyng  
     þe Inglis oyssit to mak carpyng:  
     ' I wow to God, scho mais gret stere,  
     þe Scottis wenche ploddeyr.  
     Cum I are, cum I lat,  
     I fande Annote at þe 3hat.' "<sup>88</sup>

In "The Brut" we also have mention of songs made against the Flemings<sup>89</sup> but all these are only the accidental survivors

<sup>86</sup> *The Brut*, p. 208; cf. also *Fabyan* p. 420.

<sup>87</sup> F. J. Amours, *Wyntoun's Original Chronicle* (STS. 1903-14) vii, 3620.

<sup>88</sup> *op. cit.* viii, 4993. <sup>89</sup> *op. cit.* pp. 582 600, etc.



of what must have been a rich and flourishing literature. The same is probably true of much of the popular poetry on the contemporary political events of the day. A certain amount of this has been preserved in Latin, French and English, but much must have disappeared with the particular situations which gave rise to it. An early reference showing the importance of this type of poetry is to be found in Roger of Hoveden. One of the charges made by Hugh of Coventry against William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor of Richard I, was that:

“ Hic ad augmentum et famam sui nominis, emendicata carmina et rhythmos adulatorios comparabat, et de regno Francorum cantores et jocularos muneribus allegerat, ut de illo canerent in plateis: et jam dicebatur ubique, quod non erat talis in orbe.”<sup>90</sup>

These songs would, presumably, have been in French but we have references to similar ones in English. For example there is the episode of how, in the first year of Richard II, a courtier from Woodstock came to Oxford and was there insulted by the students. These came outside his lodgings and sang “ a certain rhyme in English that contained words against the honour of the king ” and ended up their frolic with a general discharge of arrows: “ Eodem anno (1378) miles quidam de familia Regis venit de Wodstoke ad Oxoniam. Scholares quidam nocte venerunt et stabant coram hospicio suo facientes de eo quendam cantum rythmice in Anglico continentem certa verba contra honorem Regis. Et miserunt sagittas ad fenestram hospitii.”<sup>91</sup>

Again there is the curious story, contained in “ The Brut,” of how the Scots after the failure of an English expedition against them during the early years of the reign of Edward III, affixed a certain rhyme against the English to the south door of York Minster:

“ and at þat tyme þe Englisshemen were cloþe alle in cotes & hodes, peyntede wiþ lettres & wiþ floures ful sembli, wiþ longe

<sup>90</sup> *Roger of Hoveden*, Rolls Series 51 (iii), p. 143.

<sup>91</sup> *Eulogium*, Rolls Series 9 (iii), p. 348; see also H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif* i, 307.

berdes; and þerfore þe Scotas made a bille þat was fastenede  
 oppon þe cherche dores of Seint Peres toward Stangate. & þus  
 saide þe Scripture in despite of þe Englisshemen.

Longe berde hertles,  
 peyntede Hode witles,  
 Gay cote graceles,  
 makeþ Engl(i)ssheman þriffles."<sup>92</sup>

In the MS. Lansdowne 418 there is preserved the first stanza of a long ballad which the scribe tells us he copied out of "a smale olde book in parchment called the booke of Ross or of Waterford." This is the present MS. Harley 913 but the part containing this ballad has been lost and the first stanza, as copied into Lansdowne 418, is all that remains of it. It seems to have been a warning to the young men of Waterford against the le Poer family and is evidently an Anglo-Irish production. The copyist, who apparently had difficulty in reading his text, tells us:

"There is in this book a longe discourse in meter putting the youth of Waterford in mind of harme taken by the Powers, and wishing them to beware for ye time to come. I have written out the first staffe only.

Young men of Waterford learne now to play  
 For youre mare is plowis i lai beth away  
 Secure 3e 3ure hanfelis yt lang habith ilei  
 And fend 3ou of the powers that walkith bi the wey  
 I rede  
 For if hi takith 3ou on and on  
 from ham scapith ther never one  
 I swer bi Christ and St Jon  
 That of goth 3ur hede  
 Now hi walkith etc."<sup>93</sup>

As Dr. G. R. Owst says of the poetry of satire and complaint — "Surviving manuscripts of varying date supply us with a

<sup>92</sup> *The Brut*, p. 249; cf. a slightly different version in *Fabyan*, p. 440, where it is said to be quoted from a certain Gwyð.

<sup>93</sup> In the version given by St. John D. Seymour, *Anglo-Irish Literature 1200-1582*, p. 88, line 7 has been inadvertently omitted.

few scattered examples of the rude poetry in question at various stages of development. Their survival is clearly indicative of a much larger output now irretrievably lost to us."<sup>94</sup>

Most of the Middle English ballads which have been preserved to us date rather from the early modern period than from the Middle Ages proper. But this date almost certainly refers rather to the time at which they were written down than to the date of their composition. The ballad is essentially a type of popular oral literature. It is written down, as a rule, only by antiquaries and at a time when they are no longer being composed. The ballads of Robin Hood are not found until late in the Middle Ages but they seem to have long been popular throughout the North and Midlands. His fame was, of course, well-known to Leland:

"Along on the lift hond a iii. miles of betwixt Milburne and Feribridge I saw the wooddi and famose forest of Barnesdale, wher they say that Robyn Hudde lyvid like an owtlaw."<sup>95</sup>

His fame had spread to Scotland and he was well-known to Wyntoun:

"Litol Iohun and Robert Hude  
Waythmen war commendid gud;  
In Ingilwode and Bernnysdaile  
þai oyssit al þis tyme þar trawale."<sup>96</sup>

Tales of Robin Hood are found also in the *Scotichronicon*. The earliest reference to the famous outlaw has long been thought to be the well-known passage in *Piers Plowman* where Langland speaks of the

"rymes of Robyn Hood and Randolph erle of Chestre," but Dr. A. H. Smith has shown that he must have been famous long before, since the name is found as a place-name at the beginning of the century. In a document dated 1322 and preserved in the Monk Bretton Cartulary there is mention of the "stone of Robin Hode." The site probably corresponds with the present-day Robin Hood's Well in the Skelbrooke

<sup>94</sup> G. R. Owst, *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England*, p. 213.

<sup>96</sup> *Leland's Itinerary* VII, 13. <sup>96</sup> *Wyntoun* vii, x, 3525.

township of the West Riding. References to the present name are found early enough to show that it is not a mere modern invention. This, together with the topography, is said by Dr. Smith to be enough to associate the older place-name with the Robin Hood of the ballads and not with some other otherwise unknown individual.<sup>97</sup>

The North, in fact, seems to have been the district in which the ballad was most favoured, due perhaps to a state of life less influenced by continental culture and more primitive than the more southerly parts of the country. In any case the earliest ballad of which we know seems to have been composed in the North. During the fourteenth century there was a law case between Lord Neville of Raby and the Prior of Durham records of which still remain. Apparently as a rent for his lands at Raby, Lord Neville was supposed to bring a stag to the monastery at Durham on the feast of the Translation of St. Cuthbert—September 4th. This was offered at the shrine of St. Cuthbert and afterwards removed to the kitchen of the Prior. But dispute seems to have grown up concerning the manner in which this offering was to be made. The Prior said that Lord Neville should come with a few servants, hand over the stag, and go away again. Lord Neville, on the other hand, claimed that the stag should be brought into the cathedral to the sound of the horns of his followers. Afterwards he and his servants should take possession of the Prior's house, turn out the servants of the Prior, and feast there for the following day and night. In 1290 when the offering was duly made on the 4th of September, there was a regular battle between Lord Neville's men and the monks. The monks, armed with the great candlesticks used in the service, succeeded in driving Lord Neville's men out of the cathedral and retained possession of the stag. After this, during the lifetime of that Lord Neville, the offering was given up. In 1331, however, his son proposed to revive it but the Prior objected until Lord Neville brought a writ of novel disseisin against him. This curious case in which a tenant insisted in

<sup>97</sup> A. H. Smith, "Robin Hood" (*Modern Language Review* 28, 484).

paying rent to a reluctant landlord was lost by Neville. But during the course of it the Prior produced an interesting piece of evidence to show that the offering had once been made on Holy Rood Day. This is the fragment of a lament which, he said had been sung after the death of Lord Neville's great-grandfather, Robert de Neville, who died c. 1280:

"Argumentum contra eum quia solet semper offerri in die sanctæ Crucis; unde mortuo Roberto de Nova Villa, proavo istius, cantabatur Anglice, in luctum ejus,

" Wel, qwa sal thir hornes blau,  
 Haly Rod thi day?  
 Nou is he dede and lies law  
 Was wont to blaw thaim ay,"<sup>98</sup>

And so, amid these Latin records, we come across this odd stanza of a lost Middle English ballad. But in this odd stanza we can perceive the authentic note of the ballad, appearing long before the earliest written secular ballads which are still extant, and suggesting a rich literature, most of which is completely lost or preserved only in much later copies.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Raine, *Hist. Dun. Scrip. Tres* (Surtees Society, 9), p. 112; see also Madeleine Hope Dodds, "Northern Minstrels and Folk Drama" (*Archæologia Aethiana*, Fourth Series, vol. 1, p. 133).

<sup>99</sup> An interesting reference, pointed out at the last moment by Professor Dickens, indicates that, in the reign of Edward I, English as well as French was understood by the aristocracy. Walter of Hemingburgh (*Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh* ii, 6-7, English Historical Society, London 1848) gives the following stanza of a song sung by the sons of the Barons whilst their elders were in council:

"Cum autem teneret rex quoddam parlamentum, et filii magnatum starent coram eo in vesperis, dixit eis, "Quid loquimini inter vos quando nos sumus in consilio cum patribus vestris?" Et respondit unus, "Non offendamini si veritatem dicam?" Et rex, "Non certe." "Domine mi rex, nos dicimus sic,—

Le Roy cuvayte nos deneres  
 E la Rayne nos beau maners  
 E le Quo voranto  
 Sale mak wus al to do."

Edward himself spoke English (Walter of Hemingburgh i, 337).

## THE ALLITERATIVE PHRASES IN THE ORMULUM.

No student of Old and Middle English can fail to be grateful to Dr. J. P. Oakden for the remarkable collection of alliterative phrases in Part III of his recent *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: A Survey of the Traditions* (Manchester University Press, 1935), but his treatment of one text in particular calls for certain criticisms. On pages 258-61 of his book he gives a list of the alliterative phrases in *The Ormulum*, including in his table of comparison (p. 378) the number of phrases Orm has in common with various texts and groups of texts in Old and Middle English. He has, however, omitted at least two-thirds of Orm's phrases and consequently the statements based on this material are extremely misleading. He categorically states (p. 257) "Orm's long paraphrase yields 109 alliterative phrases," noting further (p. 258) "Orm's phrases are somewhat few in number." Far from this being true, Orm makes great use of alliteration, often mechanically,<sup>1</sup> but sometimes with admirable effect as in his *slætenn affterr sawless* "to hunt for souls", *herrtess hus* and *drinnkenn dæþess drinnch*.<sup>2</sup> The following passage illustrates the part sometimes played by alliteration in *The Ormulum*:

Forr hæpenndom & hæpenn lif  
 & hæpenn follkess herrte  
 Iss harrd & starrc all allse stan,  
 Unnmeoc & all unnmilde,  
 & arelæs & grimme & grill,  
 & butenn rihht rewwsunnge,  
 & drizze & all wipputenn dæw  
 Off Hali3 Gastess frofre,  
 & stunnt & stidi3, dill & slaw  
 To sekenn sawless seollþe,  
 & dumb & dæf, & blind off Godd  
 To cnawenn & to cwemenn. (9877-88).

<sup>1</sup> Or with what Dr. Oakden refers to as "painful recurrence."

<sup>2</sup> Found also in *Ayenbite* 130.

The large error in the number of Orm's phrases naturally renders the numerical comparisons with Old and Middle English of little value. On p. 257 Oakden writes "Very few . . . seem to be of native origin. Fourteen are found in Old English religious poetry and twenty-two in Old English homiletic prose." Among the examples of additions to these numbers are several phrases of especial interest in that they are otherwise rare or unrecorded in Middle English, such as *biddenn* & *bedenn* and *mahhtiz* & *mære* (both in Wulfstan), *millce* & *mildherrtlez3c* (cf. *miltse* and *mildheortnesse* in Wulfstan), and *þolenn ne þafenn* (found in Old English religious poetry). Additional phrases of native origin, paralleled in Oakden's Old English lists, will be found in the list below. The statistics are also misleading in that Oakden has many omissions in his Old English lists. Though he includes Orm's *drerizmod* & *dreofedd* he omits Old English *dreorig* & *gedrefed*<sup>3</sup> from p. 199; he gives a Middle English example of *a buten ende* on p. 236 (though he omits Orm's examples) but not Old English *a butan ende*<sup>4</sup>; neither Old English *mennisc mann*<sup>5</sup> nor Orm's *mann mennissh* occurs in his lists.

As to comparison with other Middle English texts, Oakden states (p. 258): "That few of Orm's phrases occur in later Middle English is not surprising, for quite evidently he coined many new phrases, which, like his work, never became popular."<sup>6</sup> This statement cannot stand.

In the first place Oakden has not noticed that several of the phrases he himself lists from *The Ormulum* do occur in the later verse he has examined. As examples may be cited *zemenn* & *gætenn* which is found in *Havelok* 2690 as *zeme* & *gete* (to be added to Oakden's list on p. 327),<sup>7</sup> *rowwst* & *reord* found in *The*

<sup>3</sup> *Beowulf* 1417.

<sup>4</sup> *Blickling Homilies* 131.

<sup>5</sup> Alfred's *Boethius* xxxiii, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> What is the evidence for Orm's many "coined" phrases? A large majority of his phrases is to be found either in Old and Middle English or Old Norse.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the remark on p. 315: "No specifically 'Orm' phrases survive (sc. in the rhyming romances), which is not surprising." Another interesting parallel with *Havelok*—\**wrezhenn* & *wrabbenn*—appeared on one of the now missing leaves of the Ormulum MS.; see N. R. Ker, *Times Lit. Suppl.*, Nov. 14, 1936, p. 928.

*Wars of Alexander* 488 as *rowste & verid* (to be added on p. 299),<sup>8</sup> and *fihtenn zæn þe flæsh* found in *Handlyng Synne* 8434 and 8495 (to be added on p. 366).

In the second place Oakden has not noticed in *The Ormulum* many of the phrases he includes in his lists from other Middle English texts. The total of such omissions is at least seventy, of which typical examples are *fell & flæsh*, *serrzhe & sit*, and *witt & wissdom*.

In the third place certain phrases are omitted both from the *Ormulum* list and from the lists of other Middle English texts and groups of texts. Examples of phrases thus completely omitted are *godd & gode menn* which occurs also in *Pers Plowman* and *Minot*<sup>9</sup> and should have been included in the lists on pp. 284 and 346; *haldenn harrde* which is found also in *The Lament of the Monk* 7 (to be added on p. 346); *lætenn lihhtliȝ* which occurs for example in *The Wars of Alexander* 2557 (to be added on p. 288); and *standenn stallwurrþliȝ* "to resist" which occurs in *Handlyng Synne* 7181 and 7511 (to be added on p. 367).

In addition to the above evidence for the large number of Orm's phrases which do occur in later Middle English, it should be noted that many others are to be found in texts not examined by Oakden. It is impossible to deal with this point in small space but as examples may be cited the following:—from Oakden's *Ormulum* list, *bitterr & beȝzsc*, *deop & dærne*, *wraþþe & wræche*; from additions to this, *dærne dedess*, *kiþenn Cristess come*, *sawle sallfe*, *slan sawle*, *biswikenn sawle*, *þiss & tatt*, *war & wirrsenn*, *wislike & wel*; for all of these further examples are to hand in the *New English Dictionary*.

Finally it must be pointed out that in detail the treatment of *The Ormulum* is inaccurate. The following are examples from one section of the book. In his list of alliterative phrases in Chaucer (pp. 372-8) Oakden marks twenty-two of these phrases

<sup>8</sup> Reference to the N.E.D. (of which inadequate use has been made throughout the book) would have given both these examples.

<sup>9</sup> See C. T. Onions, *Times Lit. Suppl.* Aug. 13, 1931, p. 621.



as occurring in *The Ormulum* (and consequently puts this number in his table on p. 378). The first phrase so marked is *buddes and blomes*, an obvious error (the word *bud* is of late appearance in Middle English) due to mis-reading a slip with Orm's *brodd & blome* on it. I do not think the combination *horsemen, haukes, houndes* can be paralleled in *The Ormulum* or that Chaucer's *swor and sayde* can be found there; Oakden indeed gives as a phrase in *The Ormulum* (p. 260) *sware & se3zdenn* with the line reference 15585, but this passage runs *Sume off þa Judisskenn menn . . . Himm 3æfenn sware & se3zdenn!* Consequently his own number for the phrases common to the two authors should be 19, though actually many others in his Chaucer list do occur in *The Ormulum*, for example *bidde bedes, gaderud togider, gilt forgive, yaf up gost, harde and hevy*, etc. Oakden has moreover not heeded Orm's admonition (Dedication 103 ff.):

& tatt he loke wel þatt he  
 An bocstaff write twi3zess,  
 E33whær þær itt uppo þiss boc  
 Iss writenn o þatt wise.

In his list of Orm's phrases there are over twenty examples of these and other misspellings. Over a dozen line references also are misprinted.

I give below a list of the alliterative phrases in *The Ormulum*,<sup>10</sup> including, for convenience of reference, the phrases already listed by Oakden, which are placed between square brackets. When one of the additional phrases is included in Oakden's lists from other texts, I give (in round brackets) a page reference to his book,<sup>12</sup> as evidence for the criticism of his statistics of comparison that I have made above. No attempt has been made to indicate whether the phrases occur elsewhere in Old

<sup>10</sup> References are to the Holt-White edition of *The Ormulum*; for the two phrases (starred in my list) from the erased text see S. Holm, *Corrections and Additions in the Ormulum Manuscript*, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> I have given some additional line references. I have omitted "millce 3ife maht (sic), 14464" as the passage is: *þatt he þe33m . . . þurh hiss millce 3ife mahht To betenn þe33re sinne*; for "sware & se3zdenn," see the footnote to S.

<sup>12</sup> I give only one Old English and one Middle English reference.

and Middle English; I hope later to compare in detail Orm's phrases with those of certain other texts. Uncertain examples of phrases are given in footnotes at the end of each letter.<sup>13</sup>

a butenn ende, 21, 8764, etc. (ME. p. 236). a wiþputenn ende, 4208. æfre a butenn ende, 2090, 4827.

ædmodnesse & are, 19272. off are, off æddmodle33c, 19297. all & æfre, 16941.

all till ende, 16089. Cf. 1892.<sup>14</sup>

bafftenn þin bacc, 14688.

bede biddenn, Ded. 330, 1149, etc. (ME. p. 236).

[unnbedenn & unnbonedd, 17081.]

biddenn & bedenn, 18337. (OE. p. 213).

[biddenn beness, 11157, 11166.] Cf. wiþþ þa boness bidde we . . . , 5356.

bindenn wiþþ bandess, 3680-1. Cf. 2971. (ME. p. 269).

bite brædess, 8640.

[bitterr & be33sc, 6698.]

[blunnt & blind, 16954.]

tobollenn & toblawenn, 8080.

brad & brihht, 3431, 7272.

[bracc & braþþe, 1233.]

breme & bollzhen, 7197.

utbresstenn off þe deofless band, 61. (Cf. OE. p. 213, ME. p. 237).

bridlenn bodi3, 11664.

[brodd & blome, 10773. broddenn & blomenn, 10769.]

brohht & birrledd, 15225.

[brukenn . . . blisse, Ded. 320, 644, etc.]

buzhenn till þiss bridgumess bodeword, 18465-6. (ME. *bowe(d)* to his bode, p. 270).

<sup>13</sup> I have omitted phrases containing cognate objects from my own collection, unless these occur elsewhere in Oakden's lists, although several such additions could be made, as *childenn child* 2865, *fall fallenn* 11862, *ladenn ladd*, 19313. I have also omitted such compounds as *domessda*33 and *kaserrking*. Like Oakden, I have included all types of *s* and *s*-group phrases, such as *stalles* & *sætess*, *sen* & *shawenn*.

<sup>14</sup> þurh Cristess are & þurh ærist, 15034, 15050. atell adle, 4803.

[forrbundenn & forrblendedd, 13775.] Cf. forrbindeþþ . . . & blendeþþ, 4524-5.<sup>15</sup>

[cherl & child, 14788.]<sup>16</sup>

dærne dedess, 396, 9714. Cf. dærnelike don, 7370.

dærne dizhellnesse, 12945. (OE. *dyrne ond degol*, p. 204; cf. ME. p. 238).

dæþess drinnch, 15224, 15388. drinnkenn d.d., 1374, 14380.

[dale & dun, 13264, 14568.]

o . . . daless dæledd, 8266, 8326, etc. (OE. p. 203, ME. p. 252).

deþenn ifel dæþ, 15436. (ME. *deþ dey*, p. 278).

demmd to dæþe, 872. (OE. p. 203, ME. p. 238).

[deop & dærne, 11970, 13721, etc.]

[deope dizhellnesse, 5501, 14857, 15347.]

[þurrrh dom demmd, 17703, 18968.] demenn att te Dom, 10556.

o Domess daþþ to demenn, 19890.

domess dizhellnesse, 18429.

[don dede, Ded. 112, Pref. 15, etc.]

do þe nu þurrrh þe sellfenn dun, 11357, 11899.

draþhenn dun, 19879. (ME. p. 279). draþheþþ aþþ dunnwarrrd  
inntill þe dæþ off helle, 19053-4.

[dredenn Godess dom, 18174.]

drefedd & forrdredd, 147.

[drerizmod & dreofedd, 6541.]

[drinnkenn drinnch, 165, 807.]

[dumb & dæf, 9887, 15500.]

dwellenn ne draþhenn fra daþþ to daþþ, 9938-9.<sup>17</sup>

ekedd to þin ahhte, 6123.

eorþlic ahhte, 4673, 5667, etc.

wiþþ erþlic eþhe, 19241, 19387, etc.

<sup>15</sup> berenn bliþeliþ, 3616. betenn bliþeliþ, 6252. bliþe . . . blisse, 6428-9; (ME. p. 236). boc uss biþdeþþ, 13064. (wambe wass) till þatt bridgume bure, 14169. bulltedd bræd, 992.

<sup>16</sup> chewweþþ . . . hiss cude, 1236-7.

<sup>17</sup> driþþe & all wiþþutenn dæw, 9883. Drihtin drædenn, 5600, 6179.

Faderr & Frofre Gast, 10554.

[falls & flærd, 7334, 10027, etc.]

farenn forþ, 3456, 3460, 6406. (OE. p. 205, ME. p. 252).

fasst & findiz, 1602.

[fedenn & fosstrenn, 1558, 6853, 8890.] Rev. 2080.

[fedenn . . . frofrenn, 11559.]

fell & flæsh, 8591. (OE. p. 229, ME. p. 240).

ferrsenne þe ne flen, 19663-4.

[ferrsenne & flitenn, 14207, 15653.] Rev. 18038-9.

[fihhtenn 3æn þe flæsh, 11477.]

fihhtenn forr hiss hallghe folc, 18130.

fillenn fetless, 14037, 15171. (OE. p. 220).

fillenn & follghenn, 4549, 4583, 10252. Rev. Ded. 21, 2691, etc.

[fillenn & forþenn, 4137, 18403.]

filledd & frofredd, 13247.

fillstnenn wiþþ fe, 6170.

findiz & unnfakenn, 4149, 13327, etc.

[fisskenn affterr fisskess, 13297.]

fletenn forþ, 18093.

flitenn & farenn, Pref. 40.

þurh fode filledd, 5691-2.

follghenn flæsh, 17258, 17777.

onnfon fulluhht, 10918-9. unnderrfon fulluhht, 15993, 18138-9.  
(OE. p. 220).

forþerrlike ne fullike, 19739-40. (Cf. OE. *so ful and so forth*,  
p. 230).

forþenn fasste, 11333, 12427, etc.

freondess fode, 3191, 9132.

frummþe off frummþe 18567.

fullfremeddlike fillenn, 5135, 10751.

[fullhtnedd i flumm, 5940, 10802, etc.]

fullhtnenn (folc) inn haliz funnt, 19575, 19723. (ME. p. 240).<sup>18</sup>

gaddrenn togeddre, 13407. (ME. p. 283).

<sup>18</sup> fillenn ferrs, Ded. 64. flæshess fule . . . , 6031, 6033, etc. flocc . . . folc, 10077  
10544. himm & hiss folc to frofrenn, 1029.

gate gannenn, 8216. whillc gate itt zede, 14577. (ME. p. 284).  
gate gre33þenn, 11088.

[gilltenn gillt, 6018, 17543.]

gilltenn Godd onn3æness, 5149. Cf. 2619-20, 3126-7. Godd  
ne gillteþþ næfre, 11638, etc.

gilltenn grimmeli3, 4494.

[glowennde gledess, 1067, 1741.]

Godd & gode menn, 5268, 8975. Cf. the collocation of *god* and  
*Godd*, 13647, 19368.

Godd & Godess a3henn Gast, 19463.

Godess Gast, 259, 1933, etc.

Godess genge, 8032.

Godess griþþ, 3960.

Godess zife, 247, 3029, etc. (OE. p. 214). zife off Godd, 13764,  
13788, etc.

[gramm & grill, 7145, 7159, etc. Rev. 7196-7.]

\*gredi3 & ziferr, 10217-8 (erased text). (OE. p. 205).

[gre33þenn & zarrkenn, 9521, greþþedd & zarrkedd, 1579.]  
Rev. 98, 9158.

[grimme & grill, 9881.]<sup>19</sup>

[zemenn & gætenn, 3765, 3797, etc.]

zaff hiss fule gast, 8111. (OE. p. 214, ME. p. 240).

zife zifenn, 5488. (OE. p. 220; cf. ME. p. 284).

forrzifenn gilltess, 1143. Cf. 5452-3. (OE. p. 214, ME. p. 284).

zittsunng & gredi3nesse, 4697, 3. & gredi3le33c, 4560—see next.

\*zittsunng & ziferrle33c, 4560 (erased text). (OE. p. 214, ME.  
p. 253).

[hæfedd & heorrte, 6469.]

hæfedd & hirde off Cristess hird, 13324.

hælennde & hellpe & god upphald, 9217.

hal off unnhæle, 15519. halsumm 3æn unnhæle, 10040.

haldenn harrde, 14783.

haldenn & hidd, 7380. Rev. 14067. (Cf. OE. *gehyt and*  
*oðhielt*, p. 221 among examples of *hydan and helan*).

<sup>19</sup> gladenn Godd, 1128. þatt illke gode gast, 179, 12614.

- haldenn forr hindderrlinng, 4860, 4888.  
 hald upp þin hand, 14684. (ME. p. 287).  
 haliz hus, 13368, 16306.  
 halls & hæfedd, 4777. (ME. p. 286).  
 halsumm & haliz, 13445.  
 [hannd & herrte, 4445, 13443.]  
 harrd & haliz, 1612, 1630, 3230.  
 harrd & hefi3, 1442. (ME. p. 374).  
 þiss hat tatt wass bihatenn, 13822-3. (OE. p. 221).  
 hatenn wiþþ herrte, 5041, 5051, 6279.  
 hefenn upp wiþþ hannd, 14676. (OE. p. 221; cf. ME. p. 241).  
 he3he & hall3he, 12653. (OE. p. 205, ME. p. 241).  
 he3hesst inn heoffne, 1055, 2146. he3he towarrd heoffne,  
 6057. (ME. p. 327).  
 he3hedd & hofenn upp, 2648-9. upphofenn he3he, 12148. (OE.  
 p. 221, ME. p. 241).  
 hellpe & hald, 5026, 6590, etc. Rev. 6891, 19336.  
 hellpe & hirde, 3193, 9134.  
 off heoffne unntill helle, 1399. (OE. p. 206, ME. p. 287).  
 heoffness here, 3946.  
 heorrte iss harrd, 1596, 9878-9; cf. 1574-5. (OE. p. 221, ME.  
 p. 285).  
 herrte iss hofenn upp, 2749.  
 herrtess hus, 7374.  
 hi3 & hope, 2777.  
 hihht & hope, 3816.  
 hird & hus, 563.  
 hofenn upp & hadedd, 10881.  
 [hope & hellpe, 6889.]  
 [hus & ham, 1608.]  
 hus . . . hewenn, 593-4, 607-8. (ME. *hus ant hinen*, p. 242).<sup>20</sup>
- icchenn uppwardd, 11833. Cf. 8123.  
 ifell ende, 5053.

<sup>20</sup> hat herrtess (lufe &) lusst, 14206, 15646, etc. hefi3 hunngerr, 8624. he3he uppo þe rhof, 11351, (11739); (OE. p. 206). herrcnenn Godess word & haldenn itt, 11723-4.

[wīppinnenn & wīpputenn, 1603, 12156.]

[kafe & kene, 19962.]

king & kemmpe, 3587.

[king off alle kingess, 344, 6671, etc.]

kiþenn Cristess come, 19372, 19384.

unnclene & unncweme, 7327, 9724.

[cnawenn & cunnenn, 15631, 16541. Rev. 12629, 18849.]

cnawenn & cwemenn, 9888.

[cwennkenn & cwellenn, 6751.] Cf. 4446-7.<sup>21</sup>

[læredd & læwedd, 967, 1680, 19930. Rev. 846, 1021.]

lætenn lihhtli3, 16517.

lætenn litell, 15474. lætenn lasse, 4896.

la3he leod, 9319, 10231.

la3hess & lakess, 7213, 7219.

la3he & lif, 19785. Cf. lif & la3hess lade, 9365-6.

la3heboç & lare, 9627. lare . . . la3he, 19796-7. (OE. p. 215, ME. p. 288).

la3heboç þatt he wass læredd onne, 17332-3. (Cf. ME. *lawe to lere*, p. 289).

la3helike ledenn, 4615, 6173, 6223. unnlazhelike ledenn, 15867.

lahhzhenn lhude, 8142. (OE. p. 206, ME. p. 242).

[lakenn & lutenn, 6417, 6633. Rev. 6139, 6657, etc.]

lanngel libbenn, 7602. (OE. p. 230, ME. p. 243).

lare . . . læfe, 15372-3, 17221-2. (ME. p. 242).

off lare unnlæredd, 17329. (OE. p. 222, ME. p. 242).

lare & lif, 17900. Rev. 16861, 16867, 18066-7. (OE. p. 222).

lasse . . . lah3hre, 3745-6.

laþe lasst, 4558, 5068, etc.

[ledenn lif, 125, 435, etc.]

lefenn upponn himm & lufenn himm, 19131-2, 19229-30, etc. (OE. p. 215, ME. p. 242).

<sup>21</sup> kinde cnawenn, 13055, 18740, etc. kinn . . . childre, 9837-8; cf. 3878. corn & chaff, 10542. Cristess come, 56, 178, etc. Crist & hiss come, 7249, 13767, 16891. Crist & cristenndom, Pref. 43; cf. 5306. Crist to cweme, 4571, 7784; cwemenn Crist, 1631, 2695, etc.

lefenn onn himm & lutenn himm, 7310.

[lefftenn & lutenn, 2488, 2755. Rev. 2658, 2662, etc.]

[lende & lesske, 4776.]

lendenn to lande, 2141-2. (ME. p. 355).

leornenn lare, 9309, 13159, etc. (OE. p. 215, ME. p. 242).

[lif & læfe, 164, 11708.]

lif . . . forrlætenn, 3768-9. (OE. p. 201, ME. p. 243).

lif lasstenn, 3247, 5307, etc. (OE. p. 230, ME. p. 243).

[lif & lust, 1628, 3228.]

[lifenn & lasstenn, 18800, 18821, etc.] Rev. 18817.

[liff & land, 3684, 17533, 17567.]

[lihht & leome, 1906, 3341, etc.] Rev. 19091.

lisstenn till lare, 8574, 11027, 18491. (ME. p. 243).

lofenn & lutenn, 1269. Cf. 207-8.

bilokenn & bilappedd, 14267, 14271.

[lufe (& hope) & læfe, 2704, 8318.]

lufe off eorþliz loff, 10009, 10742, 15878.

[lufe & lust, Ded. 295, 2759, etc.]

lufenn & lofenn, 3880-1, 5002-3. (ME. *lufe and louyng*, p. 362).

luffsumm onn to lokenn, 3583, 3585. (ME. *louelye to looke vpon*, p. 292).

lutenn þine lah3hre, 4951. lutenn & lefftenn hire lahre, 2743-4, 2769-70; cf. 2755-6. (Cf. ME. *loute lowe*, p. 292).<sup>22</sup>

macchess mæne, 1948, 2448, etc.

mahhtiz & mære, 806. (OE. p. 215).

an ma33dennhimm to moderr, 3511. (Cf. OE. p. 215, ME. p. 331).

ma33stre off all mannkinn, 12982.

mann mennissh, 18941.

[meoc & milde, 667-8, 1313, etc. Rev. 1252, 1258, etc.]  
Cf. 9880.

efennmete & efennmahhtiz, 18570-1. Cf. efennmete i mahhte,  
15721.

<sup>22</sup> bilæf o life, 7666. læn forrlesenn, 2278. læredd led, 7446, 7458. læwedd leode, 1155. lef laferrd, 8652, 9312. leom þatt ledeþþ, 11096-7; lihht & lem þatt ledeþþ, 17839-40, 18949-50. lihht off rihhte læfe, 18944; lihhtenn . . . læfe, 19004, 19028, etc. heffness lihht & hefennlike lare, 17827-8.



[mett & mæp, 2573, 4584, etc.]

millice & mildhertle33c, 1476. (OE. *miltse and mildheortnesse*, p. 215).<sup>23</sup>

[bi name nemmedd, Ded. 324, 479, etc.]

nittenn att nede, 6159, 12245. Cf. notenn . . . nede, 12228-9.

oppnedd & awwnedd, 7650.

[ord & ende, 6775, 17736, etc.]

[ræd & run, 6892, 6894, 18719.]

rapenn himm þe bettste rap, 2948. (Cf. OE. *rædan ræd*, p. 224, ME. p. 245).

rapenn rihht, 5514. (Cf. ME. *rede ryzt*, p. 298).

[reccnenn & rimenn, 11217, 11291-2.]

[resste & ro, 4190, 4972, etc.]

[rippenn & ræfenn, 9320, 10204, 10212.]

[rowwst & reord, 9569.]<sup>24</sup>

[sahhtlenn & sammnenn, 19286.]

sahhtnesse settenn, 3941. (ME. p. 255).

[sake & sinne, 1127, 1335, etc.]

sammtale & sahhte, 1535, 5731.

sawle sallfe, 13489. sawless ezhesallfe, 1852.

sawle(ss) sellþe, Pref. 102, 9886.

sed þatt deofless æfre sawenn, 5070-1. (ME. p. 246).

se33d(e) & sett(e), 11931, 19331, etc.

seggenn soþ, 12256, 19945, etc. (OE. p. 201, ME. p. 246).

seggenn sikerr soþ, 18591, 18635, etc.

se33d o Latin spæche, 1045. wiþþ openn spæche seggenn, 10294,

10975, etc. (OE. *sæde þas spræce*, p. 224).

sekenn sakess, 10211.

[sellþe & sel, 14304, 17896.]

<sup>23</sup> att te33re ma33stress muþ, 19539. mahhte iss mikell . . . & mast off alle mahhtess, 10120-2. meocle33c onn3æness modi3nesse, 6276-7. mett & soþ meocnesse, 2702, 8316.

<sup>24</sup> re33senn rihhtwisnesse, 5685; soþ & rihht to re33senn, 16141. rihht rewwsunne, 9882; rihht reowwsunnd, 8799. rixlenn i (Rome) riche, 8304-5. rume riche, 3689.

- sen & shæwenn, 7032. (OE. p. 224).  
 sen þurrh . . . sihhþe, 5799, 12112-3. (OE. p. 216, ME. p. 301).  
 sen & underrstandenn, Ded. 48, 318, etc.  
 [sennde an sanderrmann, 18883].  
 serrzhe & sit, 4852, 7967. (ME. p. 302).  
 [serrhfull . . . & sari3, 8945.]  
 sett wiþþ deore staness, 8176.  
 sett att te ster to sterenn, 15258-9.  
 [shæd & skill, 5534, 5558, etc. Rev. 1210, 1226, etc.]  
 [shædenn fra sinne, 7567.]  
 shaffte sterenn, 3679. Cf. shop . . . stereþþ, 12558-9.  
 [shame & shande, 11956.]  
 [shamenn & shendenn, 1999, 4965, etc.] Rev. 1985-6.  
 shapp ummbesherenn, 4084, 4132, etc.  
 shene & smikerr, 13679.  
 [shippennd off alle/allre shaffte, 346, 11596.] shop shaffte,  
 18789, 19106.  
 [shridd wiþþ hali3 shrud, 137.]  
 shriffte off sinness, 6613, 9270, etc. (ME. *schryuen of hys synne*,  
 p. 335).  
 sihhþe shæwenn, 228.  
 sikenn sare, 7924. (ME. p. 262).  
 sikenn sare & suhhzhenn, 7924.  
 singenn sang, 3374, 3922-3. (OE. p. 216, ME. p. 246).  
 sinness fule stinnch, 1208.  
 sittenn onn sæte, 5807. (ME. p. 302).  
 skapenn & shamenn & shendenn, 4964-5. (Cf. ME. *schame and  
 skathe*, p. 335).  
 scrennkenn sawless, 1405, 2618.  
 slætenn affterr sawless, 13485.  
 slan sawle, 2092, 4439.  
 sleckenn sinness, 10124.  
 smeredd & sallfedd, 13243.  
 [smeþe & soffte, 9666.]  
 [soffte & stille, 1307, 1312, etc.]  
 spacc . . . & se33de, 9288, 11139, etc. (ME. p. 246).

- spekenn . . . spæche, 19751-2. (ME. p. 303).  
 [spekenn & spellenn, 15987.]  
 sprungenn & streded, 560. Cf. 511.  
 stalless & sætess, 11854.  
 wiþþstandenn & wiþþseggenn, 7646, 11480, 17826.  
 standenn . . . i stall, 2145, 18432-3. (ME. p. 304).  
 standenn stallwurrþliz, 11947.  
 [standenn stille, 2137, 3643, etc.]  
 [standenn stille & stinntenn, 12844.]  
 standenn o strande, 19450.  
 starrc allse stan, 9879.  
 starrc & stedefasst, 1596-7.  
 [stizhenn uppo strande, 10673, 11155.]  
 [strang & stedefasst, 4148, 13326, etc.]  
 streded i sinne, 12443, 19530.  
 [streonenn streon, 323, 327, etc.]  
 [stunnt & stidi3, 9885.]  
 sune streonenn, 704, 18568, etc. Cf. Godess azhenn stren &  
 Godess sune, 19197-8.  
 [sutell & sene, 18862.]  
 swete slæpess, 7043. (ME. *swote þu slepest*, p. 247).  
 [swete stinnkenn, 8194.] swete stinnchess, 7860.  
 [swinnc & swat, 1616.]  
 swollzhenn menness sawless, 10224.<sup>25</sup>
- tæchenn & turrenn, 7442.  
 tæmenn tæm, 2415. (OE. p. 216).  
 takenn ne trowwenn, 16689. Cf. toc wiþþ trowwþe, 2824.  
 tellenn bi tale, 4550-1. (ME. p. 247).  
 [tiddrenn & tæmenn, 18307, 18892.]  
 tihhtenn & turrenn, 7048.

<sup>25</sup> sawle shapenn, 11505, 17583. seggenn shorrtli3, 13012-3, 13020-1. bisett wiþþ (seffne) innse33less, Ded. 260. shæwenn shorrtli3, 13026-7. shridd wiþþ scone shafftess, 17602. soþ sahhtnesse, Pref. 68, 3941, 5737. soþ sihhþe off soþfasstnesse, 17105. spedenn wiþþ spell, 1522. spellenn ne shæwenn, 10887-8. wiþþ stafess spelldredd, 16347. i faderr stoke streonedd, 9778. [3ifenn sware & seggenn, 9290, 15585, etc.]; cf. anndswerenn & seggenn, 2036. biswikenn . . . sawle, 5190-1.

[trigg & trowwe, Pref. 69, 6177, 12181.]

[turrnenn & tawwenn, 15903, 15908.]

þiss & tatt, 19430.

pohht & þæw, 7328. Cf. 1593-4.

þolenn ne þafenn, 5456-7. (OE. p. 208, ME. p. 248).

þolenn wiþþ fullfremedd þild, 1576. Cf. 2603-4. (Cf. ME.

*þuldeliche heo hit þolede*, p. 248).

[unnitt & idell, Ded. 82, 4921, 15127.]

wæpnedd wel, 4768, 4787, etc.

wac & wicke, 6185.

[wanndrap & wa, 4846.]

war & wirrsenn, 4782.

[warre & wise, 18313.]

wasshenn . . . warrmenn, 2711.

weddedd were & wif, 4614. Cf. 4604.

[wedden wifmann, 10407-8.]

we3ze & werre, 18068.

wel & wurrþlike, 1033, 1691. Rev. 17599.

unnwemmedd wambe, 1934, 1938, 2816.

wendenn awe33, 11396, 12528, etc. (ME. p. 309).

wendenn ut off weorelld, 7620. (ME. p. 309).

wenenn wel, 1993, 8140, etc.

[wepenn & wanenn, 5653, 8128.]

wiþþ weppmann weddedd, 2050.

[weppmann & wifmann, 3058, 3060, etc.]

[were & wif, 320, 4614, etc.]

werelld weldenn, 16549. (ME. p. 309).

[weorelld wrohhte, 3319, 4883, etc.]

werenn wiþþ wiþerrþeod, 10227.

werre & will, 8065.

wesste & forrworppenn, 9580. Cf. 11429-30.

whiderrwarrd he wendeþþ, 16669, 17295.

wilde wesste, 894, 1337, etc. Cf. 11415. (Cf. ME. *a wilsom*

*wast and wild*, p. 308).

- wille wirrkenn, 9342. (OE. p. 202, ME. p. 250).  
 [wille & witt, 17577. Rev. Ded. 296, Ded. 316, etc.]  
 winnenn þurh . . . wæpenn, 801-2, 12310-1, etc. (OE. p. 216).  
 winntredd wif, 453, 2309.  
 [wirrkenn werrc, Ded. 24, 6244, etc.]  
 wirrkenn win off waterr, 11080-1, 14300, etc.  
 wislike & wel, 4810.  
 wiss wiþputenn wen, 4326. (Cf. ME. *y wis and nouzt at wene*,  
 p. 342).  
 witezhunng(ss) writt, 15298, 15346. Cf. 15149-50.  
 [witenn wel, Ded. 110, 317, etc.]  
 witenn fuliwiss, w. full wiss, 2529, 6382, 7214. (ME. *wite þu*  
*to wisse*, p. 249).  
 [witenn witerrli3, 3446, 5168, etc.]  
 witt & wissdom, 15986. (ME. p. 249).  
 [witt & word, 18501, 18503, etc.] Rev. 83, 3040, etc.  
 wittlæs & wac (& wicke), 6185.  
 wittlæs & wicke, 6197.  
 [wop & wa, 5676.]  
 [word & weorrc, 2703, 4182, etc.]  
 word & wille, 7497-8. (ME. p. 312).  
 wrat & wrohhte, Ded. 332. wrohht & writenn, Ded. 161.  
 [wrappe & wræche, 909, 929, etc.]  
 wrapþenn ne weordenn, 6105-6.  
 wrecche & wædle, 5638.  
 wrezhenn all here azhenn woh, 17843.  
 [writt wrat, Ded. 331-2.]  
 [writess & werrkess, 14439, 14517, etc.]  
 writenn witerrli3, 9443, 9477.  
 wundenn þurh . . . wæpenn, 11779-80, 12308-9, etc. (ME. p.  
 256).  
 unnwundedd & unnwemmedd, 14735. (Cf. OE. p. 210, ME. p.  
 309).  
 wurrþenn warr, 1963, 2477.  
 wurrþenn wis, 11599, 11611.  
 wurrþminnt & loff & wullderr, 3379. (OE. *wuldor and wurð-*  
*mynt*, p. 217).

wurrþshipe & wikenn, 18363.

[wurrshipe winnenn, 12373.]

[wurrþshipe & wulderr, 3936, 7630, 19232.]<sup>26</sup>

In addition to these phrases, *The Ormulum* has several examples of adverbial and adjectival phrases consisting of the doubling of a word to intensify its meaning,<sup>27</sup> as *æfre & æfre* "for ever and ever" and *þuss & tuss* "thus in detail." In four cases Orm affords a considerably earlier example than those given in the *New English Dictionary*. The Norse borrowing *a33 occ a33* belongs to the same category; this is included in Oakden's list, though the others are not.

æfre & æfre, 206, 2617, etc.

[a33 occ a33, 2263, 3212, etc.]

bett & bett, 10870, 11835, 12678.

efft & efft (& offte & lome), 12924-5.

mare & mare, 676, 8679, etc.

swillc & swillc, 1006, 1512, etc.

þuss & tuss, 15520.

werrse & werrse, 15397.

wiþþ & wiþþ, 5628.

I have also noted the following rhyming collocations in *The Ormulum*:—

æte & wæte, 7852.

wiþþ bedess & wiþþ dedess, 698.

forsen & flen, 815, 19653, 19656. all he fleþ & all forrseþ, 14128.

griþþ & friþþ, Pref. 69, Pref. 87, 3380, 3520, 3926, 3940.

hutenn & þutenn, 2034, 4875, 4893.

<sup>26</sup> wædle wif, 7889, 7933. wæling word, 2192. wambe toc to waxenn, 2471-2; wasstme . . . wambe, 1937-8. wannsenn . . . waxenn, 1901-2. wantsumm & wiþþ wanndrap biþrungenn, 14824-5. wenenn wrang, 18312. winnenn weoreldþing, 4670. winnenn . . . wurrþminnt, 12368-9. wod & all wittess bidæledd, 4676-7.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Orm's *þohh swa þehh* (passim), also used to emphasize the first element of a *þohh* . . . *þohh* correlation in 18879 and 19069.

bikahht & lahht, 11621.

clake & sake, 9317, 10201.

lang & strang, 15210.

to tellenn & to spellenn zuw, 9127. Cf. *tellenn spell*, 11969, etc.

inn illc unnwitt, inn illc unnitt, 8045.

wid(e) & sid(e), 5900, 9174, 10258, 14566.

wraþpe & lappe, 5451, 6271.

E. S. OLSZEWSKA.

THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE 1195-8 AND THE  
S. WILLIAM WINDOW IN YORK MINSTER.

The first of the three long-promised editions of "The Owl and the Nightingale" appeared last year—Professor J. H. G. Grattan's diplomatic print of the Cotton and Jesus manuscripts (Early English Text Society 1935). Professor Grattan has added a good deal to the textual criticism of the poem and something to its interpretation, but neither he nor any other editor has brought out the precise sense of *bataile inume* at v. 1197. The passage runs

Ich wot hwo schal beon & honge (J. an honge).

Oþer elles fulne deþ a fonge

3ef men habbeþ bataile inume.

Ich wat hwaþer schal beon ouer come.

The use of the singular *hwaþer schal*, together with the strong legal flavour of the poem, suggests that *bataile inume* (cf. Old French *bataile prendre*, as in *Fouke Fitz Warin*, ed. L. Brandin, pp. 76-7) is a technical expression meaning 'undertaken to fight a judicial combat.' There are excellent parallels in the Middle English romance of "Amis and Amiloun": 970 *the batail . . . fong*, 1255 *bataile vnderfong*, 1112 *take bataile*, 865 *take the fight*, rhyming with a *fourtennight* (all from Henry Weber's edition of the Auchinleck text<sup>1</sup> in Vol. ii of *Metrical Romances*). Vv. 1197-8 should be taken in close conjunction with the two preceding; the accused party in a judicial combat was liable, if defeated, to suffer death (by hanging, as in the case of Hamon le Stare, for which see the frontispiece to Vol. i of the Selden Society's publications), or at the least mutilation. The other legal terms used in the poem are of Old English or Old Norse origin, but the judicial combat is probably a post-Conquest innovation—no very happy juristic reform—and the use of the French *bataile* offers no difficulty.

<sup>1</sup> Weber represents the 3 and þ of the MS. by gh and th.



JUDICIAL COMBAT FROM PANEL 53 OF THE S. WILLIAM WINDOW  
IN THE NORTH CHOIR-AISLE OF YORK MINSTER.



J. W. KNOWLES.

Ralph and Besing, barefooted and with closely-cropped bare heads, fight in the lists, armed with the prescribed weapons, picks with horn-shaped heads (*fustes cornuti*—*bastouns cornuz*—the *hornyd battis* of John Blount's translation of Nicholas Upton *De Re Militari*) and shields (quadrangular and having a hollow hand-boss in the centre, as in the Selden Society reproduction from an undated fragment of an Assize Roll of the reign of Henry III).

(To face LSE. v, 68).



I should render the passage:—

‘I know if anyone is doomed to be hanged or to meet an ignominious death in some other way; if men have undertaken to fight a judicial combat I know which of the two is doomed to defeat.’

The judicial combat has often been discussed, as, for example, by H. C. Lea in *Wager of Battle* and George Neilson in *Trial by Combat*—most recently by F. C. Hamil in an excellent paper, with an abundance of references, entitled “The King’s Approvers” (*Speculum* xi, 238-258). Hamil does not however cite one of the most interesting cases, that found in the *Miracula S. Willelmi*, c. 37, copied by Roger Dodsworth from a triptych (now lost) in the revestry of York Minster:

Vir quidam, Radulphus nomine, appellatus de pace domini regis fracta, victus in duello, et ab adversario suo, Besing nomine, fuit exoculatus uno oculo; alio oculo fuit exoculatus postmodum quia victus fuerat. Traditus fuit executori justitiæ qui alium oculum extraxit, et quidam garcio, nomine Hugo, ambos oculos extractos recollegit, et portavit in manu sua; et aliquot diebus elapsis, idem Radulphus, accedens ad tumbam Beati Willelmi, factis jejuniis et orationibus, recuperavit duos alios oculos minores prioribus, et visum clarum et acutum, sed priores oculos habuit alterius coloris, scilicet vitro similes.

(Edited by James Raine in the Rolls Series *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* ii, 539).

Five scenes from this miracle are depicted in the fine early fifteenth-century S. William widow in the North Choir-Aisle of York Minster, for which see James Fowler’s paper in *The Yorkshire Archæological Journal* iii, 264ff, supplemented and corrected by J. A. Knowles in *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archæological Society* I, ii, 39 f. The first, panel (Fowler-Knowles 52) represents Ralph and Besing, with cropped, if not shaven, heads and closely-fitting garments, kneeling before the justice and taking oaths on the book. The second (Fowler-Knowles 53) shows the bareheaded and bare-footed duellists fighting in the lists with horn-shaped picks and

quadrangular shields. In the third (Fowler-Knowles 54) they are grovelling in the lists and Besing has gouged out Ralph's right eye. In the fourth (Fowler-Knowles 55) Ralph (now completely blind) prays at S. William's shrine for the restoration of his eyes, and in the fifth (Fowler-Knowles 51) Ralph, through the merits of S. William, receives new and quite efficient, but smaller, eyes.

These York panels seem to have escaped the notice of writers on the subject, even of Round.<sup>2</sup> They are however by far the most interesting series of illustrations of the judicial combat, and, by the great generosity of Mr. J. A. Knowles, who is both scholar<sup>3</sup> and craftsman, I am enabled to give a half-tone reproduction of the second panel. The whole series would repay further investigation.

BRUCE DICKINS.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Miss Dorothy Whitelock of St. Hilda's College, who has very kindly checked Raine's print against his source (Bodleian MS. Dodsworth 125, f. 139), notes that Dodsworth actually reads *Justitie* in l. 4, *ieiuniis* in l. 8, and *alterioris* in l. 10, and that his only punctuation is a comma after *uno oculo* (l. 3).

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Round, *Family Origins* (London, 1930), pp. 117ff.

<sup>3</sup> See particularly his fine book on *The York School of Glass-Painting* (London, 1936).

## ANALOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF -ING- AND THE INTERPRETATION OF PATRINGTON.

There are one or two examples of the development of an unetymological *-ing-* in Middle English in occasional spellings like *halingre* (for Old English *haligra*) in the Winteneý version of the Benedictine Rule and the common Middle and Modern English *nightingale* (for OE *nihtegale*);<sup>1</sup> but there is much more evidence for it in the forms of some English place-names, where *-ing-* has no doubt evolved on the pattern of the numerous genuine *-ing-* names. In most cases there is no reasonable doubt of the origin of such place-names, and these provide strong presumptive evidence of a similar change in ambiguous cases. In Old English we have *Stifincweg* KCD 762 for *Stifcweg* BCS 633, *Stifigweges* BCS 866; *Ceardingsford* ASC 519F, for *Cerdicesford* ASC 519A, where *-ing-* is substituted for *-ic-*. Examples of *-ing-* for *-eg-* are more numerous and include such forms as *Healligan* BCS 356 for *halhagan*, etc (from OE *healh-haga*, cf. *Place-Names of Worcestershire* 129); *Wel(l)ingum* BCS 812 for *Weligun* (OE *weligum* 'at the willows,' now Welwyn, Herts); *Honington* KCD 939 for *Huniton(e)* DB (OE *hunig-tūn* 'honey-farm'; see however *Place-Names of Warwickshire* 281, where the name *Honington* is derived from OE *Hūningtūn* 'Hūna's farm'); *Tefingstoce*, *Tæfingstoc* ASC 997E for *Tauistoce* KCD 629, now Tavistock (from the river Tavy, cf. *Place-Names of Devon* 217), etc.<sup>2</sup>

In Middle English there is similar evidence. Many of the early spellings of the various Cheritons, which Ekwall (*Studies on English Place- and Personal Names* 33ff) derives from OE *cirice-tūn* 'church farm,' include not only *Chire-*, *Cheriton*, etc., but also forms like *Chirinton*, *Cherintune*, etc. Wallenberg

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, 456 anm. 4.

<sup>2</sup> S. Karlström, *Old English Compound Place-Names in -Ing* (Uppsala 1927), pp. 13ff, cites other examples, and notes some cases of inverted spellings as *-ic-* for *-ing-* (p. 10).

(*Place-Names of Kent* 442), for example, notes Cheriton, *Ciriceton* c. 1100, *Cherintune* 1170-80, etc., from this source.<sup>3</sup>

Further names with an intrusive nasal include several Berringtons (as in Salop, *Beritune* DB, *Byrinton* 1236, from OE *byrig-tūn*, see Ekwall, *op. cit.* 37, and *Dictionary of English Place-Names* 37) from an OE *-ig-*, and others from *-ic-*, *-uc-*, as Cannington (Somerset), *Cantuctun* BCS 553, *Caninton* 1178, *Cantinton* 1187 (from OE *Cantuc* 'Quantock Hills,' Ekwall, *op. cit.* 37), Torrington (*Place-Names of Devon* 123) *Tori(n)tona* DB, etc., from the river Torridge (OE *toric strēam*, *op. cit.* 14),<sup>4</sup> Metheringham (Lincolnshire), *Medric(h)esham* DB, *Methricham* 1185, *Mederinge-ham* 1193, which may be a personal name or an old stream-name *mæd-ric* 'meadow-stream' (Ekwall, *Dictionary* s.n.), Helpringham (Lincs.), *Helpericham*, *-inc-*, DB, *Helpringham* 1212 from a personal name *Helpric* (Ekwall, *Dictionary* s.n.; *English Place-Names in -Ing* 141), Erringden (West Riding), *Ayrykedene*, *Ayrike-*, *Ayric-*, *Ayrik-* 1277-1316 Wakefield Court Rolls, *Erindene* 1414 Yorks. Inquisitions, *-ing-*, *-yng-* 1537 Feet of Fines, 1548 Deed, *Ayringden* 1465 Patent Rolls, from OWScand. *Eiríkr*.<sup>5</sup>

These names would adequately demonstrate the intrusion of *-ing-* where it does not appear to be etymologically correct. This change may well have taken place in an East Yorkshire place-name Patrington, which presents some difficulty of interpretation. Early spellings include (*æt*, *to*) *yaterinsatune*, *paterings-*, *paterins(a)tune* 1033 Magnum Registrum Album (York),<sup>6</sup> *Patricitone* 1086 DB, *Patrington* 1150-3, *Patrintona* 1190,

<sup>3</sup> See also *Place-Names of Warwickshire* 279, s.n. Cherrington.

<sup>4</sup> In Torrington and Tavistock where the first element is certainly an old river-name we should allow for an original *-inga-* used to denote 'people dwelling on the banks of the river' or as a simple connective suffix; cf. Sinnington (*Place-Names of the North Riding* 76). In this case there has been a closing up of syllables with loss of the original *-ic-* and the *Tauí-*, *Tori-* spellings have the actual river-name re-introduced into the place-names.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Dickens reminds me that Adam of Bremen (*Gesta* ii, 22) refers to Eiríkr, King of Northumbria, as *Hiring*.

<sup>6</sup> These spellings which stand for *patering(a)tune* are from a fourteenth-century transcript of an Old English document. The other spellings are from *Place-Names of the East Riding* p. 25 (which will appear in 1937 as volume xiv of the Place-Name Society's publications).

*Paterington* 1194, and, as with Helpringham and Metheringham, the Domesday spelling *Patricitone* offers a clue to its solution. It is probably the Old Irish personal name *Patraicc* (*Patrick*) compounded with *tūn*. There are a good many instances of Irish personal names in Yorkshire place-names,<sup>7</sup> but here it may well be the name of the Irish Saint: Professor Dickins notes that Patrington church, like that of Patrick Brompton in the North Riding, is dedicated to St. Patrick, but we have no information about the age of this dedication. The medial *-ing-* forms may be analogical substitutions for an original *-ic-*.

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<sup>7</sup> See *Revue Celtique* xliv. 46ff. The name *Patric* is found independently and twice in names, *Paterik-keld* 'Patrick's spring' and Patrick Pool (in York) 'Patrick's pool' (*ib.* 50); in these two examples it may also be the saint's name.

## THE AUTHOR OF SVARFDÆLA AND THE REVISER OF GLÚMA.

In a characteristically thorough and careful paper,<sup>1</sup> Finnur Jónsson reaches the conclusion that *Svarfdæla Saga* (*Svarfd.*), as we know it, was written about the first quarter of the 14th century.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, there can be no doubt that it existed in very much its present form before *Flateyjarbók* was written, for *Þorleifs Þáttr Jarlsskálds*<sup>3</sup> actually makes use of it.

In the course of his discussion, Finnur Jónsson throws much light on saga composition during the late 13th, or early 14th century. Though in no sense a reliable source, *Svarfd.* is not, as many have held, a simple *ævintýri*. On the contrary, it is evident that its author used genuine, and most probably oral traditions. At the same time, we see that he was a man better acquainted with the geography of Svarfaðardalur than he was with its history. He was not a great reader, nor in any sense a literary man. Indeed, it seems improbable that he was even aware of those brief statements in *Landnámabók* (*Lnb.*) which concern his heroes. He tells us, for instance, that Þórarna, daughter of Þorsteinn svǫrfuðr, was seized by the viking Snækollr, to whom she bore two children (c. XIV).<sup>4</sup> From the earlier account of *Lnb.*, however, we gather that the daughter of Þorsteinn was regularly married to this viking, and, moreover, her name was not Þórarna but Guðrún. Her viking husband was called Hafþórr (*Landnámabók*, ed. 1900, pp. 73 and 194).

It would, in fact, be hard to show direct influence on this saga from any of the written sources. Nevertheless, if we

<sup>1</sup> "Om Svarfdæla Saga" (*Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1884, pp. 120 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> We may be satisfied that the *Svarfdæla Saga* mentioned in *Landnámabók* (ed. 1900, pp. 73 and 194) bore little relation to our saga.

<sup>3</sup> *Flateyjarbók* (1868) I, 207 ff., also published in *Íslenskar Fornsgur* III (Copenhagen 1883), 115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> References to Finnur Jónsson's edition, *Íslenskar Fornsgur* III (Copenhagen 1883).



consider it in broad outline, we see that it largely agrees with *Lnb.* and other early writings. Its chief characters, Þorsteinn svörfuðr, Yngvildr fögrkinn (*Lnb.* rauðkinn), Klaufi, Ljótólfr etc. are recorded in *Lnb.*, though their names and their activities are not always identical.

It seems reasonable, then, to conclude with Finnur Jónsson, that the author of *Svarfd.*, living in the late 13th or early 14th century, collected the decayed legends of Svarfaðardalr. That he was himself a native of that district is suggested by his intimate knowledge of its geography, and the interest which he takes in local place-names such as *Siglufjörðr*, *Eikibrekkja*, *Deildardalr*, etc. These he is never at a loss to explain. Where local tradition had gaps, the author would often fill them in with impossible adventures. He had probably read little, and his talents as an author are, perhaps for that reason, negligible.

We have said that the author of *Svarfd.* would often fill in gaps in historical tradition with impossible adventures. We need not, therefore, assume that all his extravagances are his own invention. On the contrary, it is apparent that he more often drew his inspiration from popular and conventional legend, for his own imagination was severely limited. Nor was he so learned that he could draw, like the reviser of *Grettis Saga*, from the Tristram legends and write a *Spesar-Þáttr*. His motives are more often of the sort which are known to have been popular in Iceland from its earliest period. For instance, after his death, Klaufi is made to haunt the valley like Þórólfr bægifótr, doing injury to man and beast. Still more like Þórólfr, he was dug from his grave long afterwards and found to be still intact. He had to be burned to ashes before he lay quiet (c. XXXII).

Such "static motives" are prominent in all sections of *Svarfdæla*. The more sparse his traditions were, the more eagerly did our author draw on these conventional, wandering legends, such as the sword-blunting eye and the *askeladd* hero. It is hardly surprising, then, that it is at the beginning of the saga that such motives are the most in evidence, and it is, therefore, with this section that the present study will deal.

These early chapters (I-X) of *Svarfd.* have been described by Guðbrandur Vigfússon as "an undoubted forgery of the sixteenth or seventeenth century."<sup>5</sup> No shred of evidence is given in support of this statement, and, since it was published, Finnur Jónsson has shown,<sup>6</sup> beyond reasonable doubt, that there is nothing to divide these chapters from the rest of the saga. In several instances, moreover, words are shown to be used here in an archaic sense of which a seventeenth-century interpolator would have been ignorant.<sup>7</sup>

Since memories of the first generations of Svarfdælir were already so vague and faded by the time this saga took shape, how much more vague must have been those of the settlers of Svarfaðardalr before they came to Iceland. Accordingly, their ancestors and their previous adventures had to be created for them.

Our author knew that Svarfaðardalr had been named after its settler Þorsteinn svǫrfuðr. He was aware too that Þorsteinn came from Naumudalir in Norway, but beyond that he knew nothing of him. He did not even know, as the author of *Lnb.* knew, that Þorsteinn was the son of Rauðr rugga. Accordingly, he invented a father for him and called him Þorgnýr, supposing that he was a chieftain in Naumudalir. He knew that Þorsteinn had children, but the name of his wife was obscure to him. Therefore, he called her Ingibjörg, and, for the glory of the family, he made an heroic and conventional story describing how Þorsteinn had won her.

If credit were to be given to the family of Svarfaðardalr, their founder, Þorsteinn svǫrfuðr, must be made to carry out bold and adventurous deeds before he came to Iceland. It was after him that the valley was named and, in the minds of the people, he must have taken the place of a tribal father. Unfortunately, however, little was known of his life in continental Scandinavia

<sup>5</sup> *Sturlunga* p. IV.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 123 ff.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. *krytja um* (II, 16), *hljóðlátt* (VII, 59), *seilamottull* (II, 64). For further examples see Finnur Jónsson, *op. cit.* p. 123.

or of the noble achievements to be attributed to him there. Therefore, the author was forced to embellish the scanty legends which had come down to him.

Our author was no innovator in this, for the method had often been used before. When the author of *Gretta* wrote of the ancestors of his hero, he too attributed to them viking expeditions and achievements for which there is probably little historical foundation. Nevertheless, when *Grettis Saga* was composed, traditions were more vivid than they were during the early 14th century. Furthermore, at the time of the earlier family sagas, the respect for truth was greater than during the later period and, accordingly, they include little that is not credible to a medieval mind.

As historical traditions decayed, the respect for truth decayed with them. Authors no longer felt themselves confined to stories which were historically possible, and as this new attitude spread, the *lygisaga* began to grow more luxuriantly than it had ever done before. The fantastic and impossible were, however, no longer confined to the *lygisaga* and the *fornaldarsaga*, their proper and traditional place. They now began to encroach more and more deeply into the field of the family saga. Even the lives of genuine Icelanders were now used for fantastic romances and, in several instances, such as *Víglundar Saga*, authors gave way to the influence of foreign models.

The author of *Svarfd.*, however, did not readily lend himself to such influences as these. Probably, in fact, he had no direct knowledge of foreign literature and, when he wrote the life of Þorsteinn in Scandinavia, he must rely solely on stories popular in Iceland, such as he himself had heard. These he used indiscriminately and with a regrettable lack of artistic sense. It is for this reason that his work gives so enlightening a picture of the state of oral tradition during the age in which he lived.

In the early chapters (I-IX) of *Svarfd.*, we read that the hero Þorsteinn, like Grettir, Glúmr and many others who afterwards became famous men, began life as a despised and lazy youth,

in contrast to his favoured brother Þórólfr. In order to prove his manhood, however, Þorsteinn seals friendship with his brother, and together they sail to Svíasker. Here they defeat a powerful and treacherous viking called Ljótr hinn bleiki and slay him. After the battle, however, Þórólfr dies of his wounds and Þorsteinn, taking the viking's sword, makes his way to jarl Herrgoðr in Svíþjóð. The jarl invites him to remain until the following spring. As yule approaches, however, men at the court become downcast. When Þorsteinn asks the reason for this, he is told that they expect the visit of a berserk called Moldi, who terrorizes the district with his following of ruffians. They are twelve together. Moldi, we are told, demands that the jarl should give him his daughter Ingibjörg in marriage, or else that he should meet him on the *hólmr*. Although he had been a brave man in his time, jarl Herrgoðr is now unfit to accept the challenge on account of his great age. Accordingly, he offers his daughter to anyone who will undertake the *hólmganga* in his stead.

On yule-eve, when the fires burn brightest, Moldi and his men ride up to the hall and stride into it, wading through the flames as they bite the ends of their shields. Moldi goes before the jarl, and greets him with sinister courtesy. He asks politely that he may go round the hall, demanding whether anyone present considers himself *jafnsnjallr sér*. The jarl himself, however, shall be spared this question, for Moldi does not wish to insult a man so old and venerable.

Moldi then goes around the hall, asking every man his foolish question, and none dare challenge him. Finally, however, he comes to Þorsteinn, who lies with a cloak spread over his head.<sup>8</sup> Moldi asks who is this lout, who has not the good manners to sit up like other men. In due course Moldi asks Þorsteinn whether he considers himself his equal. Þorsteinn answers that he has no wish to be compared with Moldi :“ *því at ek kalla*

<sup>8</sup> A particularly frequent motive. In most cases it would seem to imply deep cogitation, or great stress of emotion, such as anger or grief. Cf. *Egils Saga* LVI, *Grettis Saga* XXXV, *Ljósvetninga Saga* XVII, *Kristni Saga* XII. For further examples see H. Falk *Altwestnordische Kleiderkunde* (Oslo 1919) p. 177.

*Þik þess kvikindis læti hafa, sem gengr á fjórum fótum, ok vér kollum meri.*" In reply, Moldi challenges Þorsteinn to meet him on the *hólmr* three nights after yule.

As they go out for the fight, Herroðr asks Þorsteinn what sword he intends to use, and Þorsteinn shows him that which he has taken from Ljótr hinn bleiki. This, the jarl tells him, will not do to fight against Moldi, and he gives him another covered with rust. They strike the boss on a stone, and the blade glitters like silver. Moldi must not see it before it strikes him, for his eye blunts every weapon with its glance.

Now they go to the *hólmr*, and the jarl offers to hold the shield before Þorsteinn. Þorsteinn, however, refuses this offer: "*ok skal ek sjálf bera skjöld minn.*" Moldi, as the challenger, recites the laws of *hólmganga* and afterwards demands, significantly, to see the sword with which Þorsteinn intends to fight. Þorsteinn, carefully concealing that which Herroðr had given him, shows Moldi the sword of Ljótr hinn bleiki. Ljótr, it turns out, was Moldi's brother.

They begin to fight, but, at this point (IX, 43), the MSS. have a considerable gap. From later chapters, we learn that Þorsteinn was victorious in the fight, and, as a reward, he obtained Ingibjörg, the jarl's daughter, in marriage. Herroðr offered Þorsteinn his own dominions after his death. Þorsteinn, however, returned to Norway. He settled later in northern Iceland and became the eponymous hero of the Svarfdœlir.

The most remarkable feature of this story is its lack of originality. In fact, it may be said that it hardly contains one original motive. Practically every detail recounted here has appeared elsewhere, and most of them several times. The sword-blunting eye, for instance, recurs in *Gunnlaugs Saga* (IX) and, most probably, in *Egils Saga* (LXV) and *Kormáks Saga* (XXII) besides other sources.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the game of *jafnsnilli* will be remembered from *Hrólf's Saga Kraka* (Rafn ch. XXII).

<sup>9</sup> Further instances of the sword blunted by the evil eye are given by H. Falk *Altordische Waffenkunde* p. 44.

In its outlines the story is no less conventional than in its details. It is, in fact, merely the widespread legend of the palace raided by a monster at night. In such cases, the owner is too old or too feeble to resist, and the hall remains a prey to nocturnal ravages until it is purged by some noble-minded stranger. If we were to read *Hrōðgār* for *Herrǫðr*, *Grendel* for *Moldi* and *Bēowulf* for *Þorsteinn*, we should conclude that we merely had to deal with an elaborated and rationalized version of the *Bēowulf* legend. It is, however, unnecessary to go so far afield, for parallels are numerous in Icelandic, not only in the *fornaldarsögur*, where we should most expect them, but in the *Íslendingasögur* as well.<sup>10</sup> The majority of these are staged outside Iceland, generally in Norway, for it is evident that the Icelanders early became less critical of events which were supposed to have happened abroad.

Among all the examples of this story in Icelandic, however, there is none so full nor so complete as that which we have retold from *Svarfd*. More precisely, it is two stories or more, for, combined with the tale of the harassed palace, we have that of the maiden delivered from the hands of a giant, troll or berserk.

In Icelandic, however, it is not unusual for the two stories to be combined as they are here. As a parallel, we may cite *Grettis Saga* c. XIX. In that passage, we read that Grettir, a despised and shipwrecked stranger in Norway, delivered the home of Þorfinnr from the incursions of Þórir þomb and Ógmundr illi. In doing so, he defended the honour of Þorfinnr's wife and daughter.

There is one saga, however, which gives a far closer parallel to *Svarfd*. than any we have mentioned. In *Víga-Glúms Saga* (*VGl.*)<sup>11</sup> we are told (cc. II-IV) that Eyjólfur, the father of Glúmr, an Icelander by birth, went abroad in his youth, just as

<sup>10</sup> See Heinz Dehmer: *Primitives Erzählungsgut in den Íslendingasögur* (Leipzig 1927), particularly c. I passim and pp. 86 ff.

<sup>11</sup> References to Guðmundur Þorláksson's edition: *Íslenskar Fornsggur I* (Copenhagen 1880).

Þorsteinn in *Svarfd.* had done. Eyjólfur went to Norway, and was the guest of the brothers Ívarr and Hreiðarr at Vors. At first he was held in some contempt by his Norwegian companions, until he had proved his valour by slaying a young bear. One winter, Þorsteinn, a kinsman of these brothers, came to Vors, and said that he would have to surrender his sister to the berserk Ásgautr if they would not help him. Fittingly, it was the stranger Eyjólfur who gave this help and dared to meet the berserk on the *hólmr*. Ívarr offered to hold the shield before him, but this Eyjólfur proudly refused, with the proverb *sjálfs hönd er hollust*. The berserk now recited the laws of *hólmganga* and they began to fight. Eyjólfur was victorious and, as a reward, he was offered the sister of Þorsteinn and material wealth as well. These he refused too, most probably because he had already chosen another woman, Ástriðr, who was to become the mother of Víga-Glúmr.

Similarity between this story and that of *Svarfd.* is obvious. It may be said that it includes practically no motive which does not find its counterpart in *Svarfd.* The story of Eyjólfur is, however, briefer and less detailed than that of *Svarfd.* for *Svarfd.* contains many motives which are not to be seen here. Most prominent among them are, perhaps, the number twelve, the game of *jafnsnilli* and the hero lying with the cloak spread over his head.

*VGl.*, however, contains another story somewhat similar to that which we have retold from *Svarfd.* In *VGl.* cc. V-VI, we read that Glúmr, at that time a backward youth of fifteen, went to Norway as his father had done. His exploits there, however, are reminiscent of Þorsteinn svörfuðr rather than of Eyjólfur. When he came to Vors, he went to the home of his Norwegian grandfather Vigfúss, by this time an old man. At the approach of winter (*at vetrnóttum*) a feast (the *disablót*) was held in the hall at Vors, but men appeared to be less merry than one might have hoped on such an occasion. As the evening drew on and men were set at table, they were told that Björn járnhauss had come to the hall with his following of ruffians.

They were twelve together. It was Björn's custom, we are told, to visit such gatherings uninvited, and to ask if any thought themselves equal in manhood to himself (*jafnsnjallr sér*). Björn did not spare Vigfúss this question; nonetheless, he showed the same courtesy towards his host as Þorsteinn had done towards Herrðor. Vigfúss answered that perhaps, when he was a young man, he had been Björn's equal, but surely not now, for he was old and weak. Finally, Björn came to Glúmr. Glúmr lay on the raised floor (*pallr*), and presumably, since it was his custom (VI, 23), his cloak was spread over his head. Björn objected to Glúmr's ill manners, kicked him and asked if he was *jafnsnjallr sér*. Glúmr answered only that he had no wish to be compared with such a ruffian, for: *út á Íslandi mundi sá maðr kallaðr fól, er þann veg léti sem þú lætr*. Glúmr then jumped up, struck the berserk with a firebrand and drove him out of the house. On the next day, men heard of Björn's death. Vigfúss invited Glúmr to take his own dominions after him, but the Icelander answered that he must first attend to his own interests at home.

This story, as will be seen, is considerably closer to that of *Svarfd.* than the story of Eyjólf. Nevertheless, the story of *Svarfd.* has several important motives which are absent here. Strangely enough, however, it is precisely on these points that the story of *Svarfd.* corresponds so strikingly to that of Eyjólf. In the story of Glúmr, for instance, we see that there is no *hólmganga* with all its ritual. Neither insults the other's courage, and there is no woman to be delivered from a berserk lover. If, however, we were to combine the motives contained in the two stories of *VGl.*, we should be able to reconstruct a story very similar to that of *Svarfd.* At any rate, apart from any general similarity, our stories would agree closely on no less than nineteen points.



If we call the story of Þorsteinn *Svarfd.*, that of Eyjólfur *VGl.E.* and that of Glúmr *VGl.G.*, we shall see that the last two practically make up the first. All three of them include much common matter, but in instances where *VGl.E.* fails to show correspondence with *Svarfd.*, the missing motive is most often to be found in *VGl.G.* The converse is equally true, and, speaking generally, we may say that *Svarfd.* = *VGl.E.* + *VGl.G.* The following points may show the general truth of this equation:—

*Svarfd.* (cc. VII-IX)

*VGl.E.* (c. IV).

*VGl.G.* (c. VI).

A. Nú leið at jólum . . .  
(VII, 16).

[Þat var einn vetr . . .]  
(IV, II).

Þar var veizla búin at vetr-  
nóttum ok gørt disablót . . .  
(VI, 24).

B. ok gerðisk skipan á lund  
þeira; þar hafði verit glaumur  
ok gleði mikil, en nú tóksk  
þat af, ok gerðisk hjóðlátt  
í höllinni. (VII, 16).

Þá var eigi svá mikil gleði,  
sem líkligt mundi þykkja  
fyrir fagnaðar sakir ok vina  
fundar (VI, 27).

C. (Hirðmaðr segir): “Maðr  
heitir Moldi; hann er vík-  
ingr eðr berserkr; þeir eru  
tólf saman. (VII, 28).

Þá var sagt, at sá maðr var  
kominn at boenum með tólfta  
mann, er Björn hét ok kallaðr  
járnhauss; hann var ber-  
serkr mikill. (VI, 36).

*Svarfá.* (cc. VII-IX)*VGl.E.* (c. IV).*VGl.G.* (c. VI).

D. Moldi vill mæla til mægða  
við jarl, en til samfara við  
dóttur hans Ingibjörgu . . .  
(VII, 32).

. . . hann mundi láta systur sína, ef þeir vildi hann eigi efla . . . (IV, 19; cf. E below).

E. ella býðr hann honum á  
hólm þrem nóttum eftir  
jól . . . (VII, 34).

(Ásgautr) hafði skorat á hann til hólmgöngu fyrir þá sök at hann synjaði honum systur sinnar. (IV, 14).

F. "Myndi hann (jarl) skjótt  
kjósa ef hann væri ungr  
maðr, en nú er hann ór  
bardögum fyrir aldrs sakar."  
(VII, 35).

"Em ek ekki traustr til hólmgöngu, nema ek njóta yðvarrar gæfu við." (IV, 20).

"Ek em gamall ok ørvasi."  
(VI, 61).

G. "Þat hefi ek talat" segir  
jarl "at þeim manni mynda  
ek gifta dóttur mína, er  
þenna mann gæti af ráðit."  
(VII, 46).

Þá leita þeir við menn sína, hverr þat vildi vinna sér til konu, at ganga á hólm við Ásgaut. (IV, 24).

*Svarfd.* (cc.VII-IX)

H. Þá er eíðarnir váru sem bjartastir, var jarli sagt at Moldi reið at höllinni. (VII, 57).

I. gengu síðan inn í höllina tólf saman. (VII, 59).

J. Moldi segir: “Ek vil, at þú leyfir mér at ganga um höllina, ok spyrja, hvárt nokkurr telsk mér jafnsnjallr.” (VII, 68).

K. Síðan gengr hann úttarr frá öndvegi fyrir hvern mann, ok spurði hvárt nokkurr teldisk honum jafnsnjallr, þar til er hann kom fyrir öndvegismann (i.e. Þorsteinn, VII, 74).

*VGl.E.* (c. IV).

Ok er á leið kveldit, er menn váru komnir . . . Ok er menn váru komnir undir borð . . . (VI, 26 and 36).

En Björn gekk í skálann inn . . . (VI, 45).

(Björn) leitaði orðheilla við menn, ok spurði á enn æðra bekk enn yzta mann, hvárt hann væri jafnsnjallr honum. VI, 46).

Síðan spurði hann hvern at öðrum, þar til at hann kom fyrir öndvegít (i.e. Vigfúss, VI, 48).

*VGl.G.* (c. VI).

*Svarfá.* (cc. VII-IX)

L. Sá (Þorsteinn) lét dragask  
foetr af stokki ok hafði  
breiddan feld yfir höfuð sér  
(VII, 77).

M. Moldi spyr, hverr sá  
hrottinn væri, er þar sæti  
eigi upp, sem aðrir menn, í  
öndvegi . . . Moldi segir:  
"þú ert drjúglátr, eðr telsk  
þú jafnsjallr mér?" (VII,  
78).

N. "Eigi nenni ek því,"  
segir Þorsteinn "at teljask  
jafnsjallr þér, því at ek  
kalla þik þess kvikindis læti  
hafa, sem gengr á fjórum  
fótum, ok vér kóllum meri"  
(VII, 82).

*VGl.E.* (c. IV).*VGl.G.* (c. VI).

Þá er aðrir menn drukku eða  
höfðu aðra gleði, þá lá hann  
(Glúmr) ok hafði feld á höfði  
sér (VI, 22, cf. VI, 65).

"Hví liggir sjá maðr svá"  
kvað Björn, "en sitr eigi?"  
. . . Björn spyrnir á honum  
føti sínum, ok mælti, at hann  
skyldi sitja upp sem aðrir  
menn, ok spurði ef hann væri  
jafnsjallr honum (VI, 65).

(Glúmr): "Vil ek af því engu  
við þik jafnask, at út á Íslandi  
mundi sá maðr kallaðr fól, er  
þann veg léti sem þú lætr"  
(VI, 73).

*Svarfd.* (cc. VII-IX)

O. Jarl bauðsk at halda skildi fyrir honum, en Þorsteinn kvað, at engi maðr skyldi sik í hættu hafa fyrir hann (IX, 7).

P. Kvaðsk Moldi mundi segja upp hólmgöngulög (IX, 10).

Q. (Moldi): “Þrem mörkum silfrs skal sik af hólmi leysa, sá er sárr verðr eða óvígr.” Þorsteinn mælti: “Þó at þar liggja við sex merkr heldr en þrjár, þá þykki mér því betr, sem ek tek meira” (IX, 15).

*VGL.E.* (c. IV).

Ívarr bauð at halda skildi fyrir honum. Eyjólftr svarar: “vel er þat boðit, en mér mun mest um hugat, ok er satt et fornkveðna, at sjálfrs hönd er hollust.” (IV, 44).

(Ásgautr): “Lögin mun ek þér segja upp um hólmgöngu (IV, 52).

(Ásgautr): “.III. merkr skal mik leysa af hólmi, ef ek verð sárr.” Eyjólftr svarar: “óskyld ætla ek vera at halda lögum við þik, er þú döemir sjálfr hvers þú ert verðr, fyrir því at á váru landi mundi slíkt þykkja þrælsgjöld . . .” (IV, 53).

*VGL.G.* (c. VI).

*Svarfd.* (cc.VII-IX)

R. (Þorsteinn): "þat var Eyjólfur mælti: "er eigi þat sagt, at þú kynnir eigi at at þér ægi við mik at þerjask? hræðask, hver ógn sem þer Kann þat vera at þér sé eigi væri boðin; nú skil ek, at þú vel farit, er þú æðrask mikinn vill bera bleyðiorð fyrir mér" mann, en gambrar yfir litlum." (IV, 48).

*VGL.G.* (c. VI).

S. "Mun ek auka þína söemð í því, at þú ráðir ríki þessu eftir minn dag ok komir aldri til Nóregs" (X, 15).

Vigfúss bauð Glúmi at taka ríki eftir sik ok virðing . . . (VI, 91).

Considering this close similarity, there can be no doubt that the relevant passages of the two sagas are related. It remains, however, to explain their relationship. *VGL.*, as is generally agreed, is a much earlier work than *Svarfd.* We see that it was made in the days when local legends of settlers and their sons were still living and vivid. As a result, it contains much material valuable to the student of mythology and legal history. Indeed, Finnur Jónsson even suggested that it was written before the end of the 12th century.

At first sight we might incline, therefore, to suspect that *Svarfd.* had been influenced in this passage by the written *VGL.* This, however, is improbable. In spite of the close similarity which we have shown between these passages, their differences are many and radical. In the first place, it is notable that in *Svarfd.* all of the motives are included in one story,

and it is unlikely that so illiterate an author, as we have seen that of *Svarfd.* to be, would consciously weld together two stories from the written *VGl.* It should be added that *Svarfd.* contains a considerable number of motives wholly absent in *VGl.* The latter, for instance, has nothing corresponding to the rust-covered sword and the evil eye, to which practically the whole of c. VIII of *Svarfd.* is devoted. We have already seen that the author of *Svarfd.* was little influenced by literary sources. It should be added that, in some instances, the two sagas use similar expressions under different circumstances (e.g. in K), and in others the same motives reappear in a different context and without verbal similarity (e.g. in S).

Earlier in this paper, we expressed the view that the chapters in *Svarfd.* with which we deal are an integral part of that saga. In fact, they are in no way out of keeping with the rest of it, and there is little reason to suppose that this saga has been seriously interpolated since it left its author's hands. In the case of *VGl.*, however, the situation is somewhat different. Its earliest extant MS. is found in *Mǫðruvallabók*, which is believed to have been written during the first half of the 14th century. In its present form, however, *VGl.* is agreed to contain several extensive interpolations. These include the story of *Hlǫðu-Kálfr* (cc. XIII-XV), that of *Skúta* (c. XVI) and that of *Hríseyjar-Narfi* (c. XXVII). All of these passages break the sequence of the story and, in addition to them, there are other passages where the text has been tampered with.

Indeed, it is particularly in the early chapters of *VGl.* that we see indications of revision. In c. III, as we read how *Eyjólfr* slew the bear, we find ourselves in the realm of the post-classical or of the *fornaldarsaga* rather than that of the archaic family saga. Still more foreign to the archaic nature of *VGl.* are the Norwegian adventures and the berserk fables of *Eyjólfr* and his son. Admittedly, the most classical sagas tell us of heroes who went abroad in their youth. *Snorri goði*, for instance, did so, but *Eyrbyggja* (c. XIII) tells us little of his life there.

A closer parallel to the stories of Glúmr and Eyjólfur is perhaps to be seen in *Grettis Saga*, for Grettir too spent a part of his youth in Norway. It is likely, however, that some of the more extravagant accounts of his achievements there, such as his struggle with Kárr the Old, have been embellished by a reviser, whose hand is so often apparent throughout the text. The story of Þorsteinn and Jökull in *Vatnsdæla Saga* (cc. III f.), containing several motives in common with *VGl.* and *Svarfd.*, may perhaps have arisen in the same way. *Vatnsdæla Saga*, like *Grettis Saga*, is constructed on a classical foundation, but, in its present form, it contains much post-classical embellishment. In *Landnámabók* (ed. 1900, pp. 59 and 182), we find the same story of Jökull, but in a simpler and, without doubt, an earlier form.

It is, however, unnecessary to go so far as Vigfússon did, in discussing *Svarfd.* (cc. I-X), and assign passages to the 16th or 17th centuries simply because they contain a number of stereotyped motives. Nevertheless, a superfluity of such motives is generally characteristic of a post-classical text. Accordingly, since cc. I-X are clearly an integral part of *Svarfd.*, they should be taken, as Finnur Jónsson points out,<sup>12</sup> to indicate that the saga is somewhat late. Similarly in *VGl.* the superfluity of these motives in cc. IV and VI is most easily explained as a sign of post-classicism. This, however, does not mean that *VGl.* as a whole should be assigned to the post-classical period. On the contrary, it contains many passages which are among the most typically classical of all Old Norse prose, and its author shows himself to be no slavish follower of traditional motivation.

Most probably, then, we are justified in concluding that cc. IV and VI of *VGl.* have been embellished, like many other passages in this text, by the hand of a late reviser. It is probably part of the original saga that Glúmr and Eyjólfur went to Norway in their youth, but the details of their adventures there are more likely to have been inserted at some later date.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 125.



Such a view would most easily explain the abrupt change from the austere sentences of c. V to the loose construction of c. VI.

It is suggested, then, that the details of cc. IV and VI were introduced into *VGl.* somewhat later than its original composition, though necessarily before 1350. The date of composition of *Svarfd.* as we have seen, cannot be decided with any degree of precision. Nevertheless, it is clear that it must have reached its present form at some time between those two dates. It is not improbable therefore that the berserk motives were introduced into *VGl.* during the same generation as *Svarfd.* was written. The sagas of *Svarfd.* and of *VGl.* are close geographical neighbours. Both of them deal with Eyjafjörðr in north-eastern Iceland. *Svarfd.* is concerned with its outer, and *VGl.* with the inner districts. From Grund, the home of Þorsteinn, to Þverá, that of Víga-Glúmr, is a distance of some thirty-five miles. Following Finnur Jónsson, we stated earlier in this paper that the author of *Svarfd.* was intimately acquainted with the district of which he wrote, and was most probably a native of it. The same has been said of the author of *VGl.* and, it may be added, some of the interpolations in this saga (e.g. c. XXVII) show the same detailed topographical knowledge as other passages in that text. It is suggested, moreover, that *Mǫðruvallabók* was itself written in Eyjafjörðr and, not impossibly, in the monastery of Munkaþverá, which once was Glúmr's home.<sup>13</sup> It would seem likely, therefore, that *VGl.* did not leave that district until *Mǫðruvallabók* was written, and its final form was reached.

We may suggest, then, that the relevant passages in these two sagas were written in the same district of Iceland and during the same generation. In that case, their relationship must be even closer than we had previously suggested. We might, in fact, conclude that the similarity between *Svarfd.* and *VGl.* is due to the fact that such motives as they relate were commonly grouped together among story-tellers popular in Eyjafjörðr at

<sup>13</sup> Cf. E. Ó. Sveinsson: *Corpus Codicum islandicorum medii ævi V*, introduction pp. 21-2 (Copenhagen 1933).

that period. Alternatively, and this seems more probable, we may suggest that the relevant passages in *Svarfd.* and *VGl.* were the work of men whose lives were closely associated.

To carry the latter suggestion still further, and to say that they were the work of one man, would perhaps be rash. Nevertheless, such an hypothesis would, at least, be a pleasing one. It might, in fact, imply that after he had finished his "brutal" *Svarfd.*, this author turned his vandalistic energy to *VGl.* This would, to some extent, explain the contradictions of style and construction which characterise *VGl.* in its present state.

In this paper, we have called attention to the similarity between *Svarfd.* c. VII-IX and *VGl.* cc. IV and VI. This similarity is seen to be so close that it cannot be due to mere chance. As an explanation, we suggested that it might be due to the geographical proximity of the districts with which the two sagas deal, and in which their authors most probably lived. Alternatively, we suggested that the similarity was due to intimate association between the authors of *Svarfd.* and the relevant passages in *VGl.*

Since cc. IV and VI are probably not contemporary with the original *VGl.*, the latter explanation is perhaps the more plausible.

G. TURVILLE-PETRE.

A Note on J. Boyd, *Ulrich F  ttrer's Parzival: Material and Sources* (Medium   vum Monographs I), Oxford, 1936.

The publication of this book must fill English Germanists with misgivings. A deservedly neglected German author of the fifteenth century writes up from earlier sources the principal stories of the Arthurian cycle at a time when even as purely literary themes they are completely outlived. A living Germanist retells one of these fifteenth-century versions partly in his own words, and partly by quoting from the German version, and demonstrates repeatedly and convincingly that it is not as long or as full as the combined three sources on which it draws. The resultant copy is printed and offered for sale at ten shillings. This is our first cause for misgiving.

It is claimed on the dust-cover of the book, which we may reasonably suppose the author read before the book was released, that "so far Ulrich F  ttrer's method of applying his material was unknown." Had the author spent one-tenth of the time he has devoted to reading the authorities on Wolfram von Eschenbach's "Kyot" and classifying them as believers and non-believers in looking through the relevant sections of the *Jahresberichte   ber die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiet der Germanischen Philologie*, he would have discovered that in 1927 Dr. Alice Carlson published a work entitled *Ulrich F  ttrer und sein Iban* (Diss. Munich, 1927) in which the infinitely more important comparison between Ulrich's "Iban" and his sources (believed to have been non-German) was fully worked out. Dr. Carlson's results are worth noting. In the introduction to her work Dr. Carlson thanks Professor Panzer of Heidelberg for having informed her that "perhaps one of his pupils would edit *Parzival* (p. 5)." The author of the present monograph is a pupil of Professor Panzer. He intends also

to edit "Parzival." Whether he is the pupil Professor Panzer then had in mind or not, one would have thought that the news that Dr. Alice Carlson was working on Füetrer would have been passed on to him, or that at least he would have been advised to make certain before publishing whether Ulrich's treatment of any of his subjects had or had not been investigated. There is further in the University Library of Heidelberg a dissertation (in typescript only) by Karl Friedrich Probst and with the title *Die Quellen des Poitistier und Flordimar in Ulrich Füetrers Buch der Abenteuer* (1922) where Ulrich's use of non-Arthurian material is discussed. This is our second cause for misgiving.

All through the book there is a lack of preciseness in the methods of quoting other work, which makes it difficult to identify some of the items. Thus on p. 3 there is a reference to Riezler, *Geschichte*, iii, p. 871, which Dr. Carlson quotes more fully as Siegmund Riezler *Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, B. III. (pp. 14 and 157). Further, to a '2 Heft' of a volume of *Germania*, a novel and irritating method of reference. Did Dr. Boyd use an unbound copy of the 1883 volume? No place or date of publication is supplied for Arthur Peter's edition of Ulrich's "Lanzilot" (the full reference, if anyone should require it, is *Ulrich Füetrers Prosaroman von Lanzilot, nach der Donaueschinger Hs.*, (Bibl. d. lit. Vereins in Stuttgart, 175, Tübingen, 1885). For the edition of the *Bayerische Chronick*, the date (actually 1909) is omitted. How can the reader form any opinion on the development of work on Ulrich when such information is not given? The phrase 'den thimonen richten' ('to arrange the rudder') according to Dr. Boyd 'is not an invention of Ulrich, for it is to be found in Hugo von Wolkenstein.' Dr. Boyd does not give chapter and verse, which is really called for, since Hugo von Wolkenstein is not a well-known author. Names reminiscent of Hugo von Wolkenstein are Hugo von Montfort, Oswald von Wolkenstein and Hugo von Langenstein. Perhaps the phrase is to be found in the work of one of them. All these shortcomings have

been noted on one page of the book, and this is our third cause for misgiving.

It is hard to believe that no more worthy contribution to medieval scholarship could have been found in Oxford to inaugurate this series.

Manchester.

F. P. PICKERING.

## SUMMARY.

Gy. Laziczius, *Bevezetés a fonológiába* (A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai 33 szám), pp. 109. Budapest, 1932. Price 3 pengos (= 2s. 3d.).

Phonematology<sup>1</sup> is perhaps the most widely discussed branch of modern philology, but the lack of a comprehensive work on the subject has been an obstacle to many would-be students. Dr. Laziczius' excellent and reasonably-priced "Introduction to Phonematology" is a hand-book of exactly the kind that is needed. It is a full but concise account of the subject; by reason of the many new ideas presented it will be of interest to the phonematological specialist and it can also safely be recommended to the elementary student. Most important of all, it stands out from almost all other works on phonematology by reason of the extreme clarity and simplicity of its style. It is unfortunate that the language in which it is written will render it inaccessible to many, and we must hope that Dr. Laziczius will soon give us a translation.

The book is divided into three sections—on general, Hungarian and historical phonematology respectively.

I. *General Phonematology.* After a few introductory remarks (§1), concerned, *inter alia*, with the speaker's power to apperceive a phonemal but not a phonetic difference, the history of phonematology is discussed in some detail (§2). Laziczius makes it clear that the study of the subject originated in Russia with Baudouin de Courtenay; although de Saussure

<sup>1</sup> In English the word *phonology* is used in the sense of German *Lautlehre*, Hungarian *hangtan*, etc. and it is moreover the only single word which expresses this idea; the use of *phonology* in the added sense of German *Phonologie*, Hungarian *fonológia*, etc., which is advocated by the Prague school and which is found in a few English works, is therefore to be deprecated as leading to considerable confusion (particularly in the minds of elementary students); in English it is therefore necessary to abandon this Prague usage and to coin a new word to render German *Phonologie*, Hungarian *fonológia* etc.; Professor Bruce Dickins suggests the very suitable *phonematology* (hence derivatives such as *phonematological*, *phonematologically*, *phonematologist*, *phonematologise*, *phonematologisation*) and throughout the present summary I use these terms.

certainly realised its importance he apparently made no very definite pronouncement on it and his influence was without immediate effect in this field. Baudouin de Courtenay was Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Kazan from 1875 to 1883 and he there developed the new study very actively. Of his pupils, Krushevskij was the first to embark upon an original line of work in this field. Baudouin de Courtenay founded the so-called Kazan school of phonematology (later moved to Petersburg) to which such constructive phonematologists as Polivanov and Tomashevskij owe their training. The next advance towards the modern point of view was due to Shcherba, also a member of this school. Although traces of the phonematological attitude are certainly to be found in the works of Sweet, Passy, Jespersen, Gombocz and Daniel Jones (early works), it is safe to say that phonematology did not really reach the West until three Russians, Troubetzkoy, Jakobson and Kartsevskij brought it (more or less in its 'Russian' form) before the Hague Congress of 1928. The new subject was at once enthusiastically received, notably by the Cercle Linguistique de Prague, who have since made it their special study. After this it developed rapidly and (as could clearly be seen at the Copenhagen Congress of 1936) continues to do so.

Laziczius next (§3) discusses the various definitions of the phoneme. The word itself is due to de Saussure; Krushevskij borrowed it from him but altered the sense. The definitions of de Saussure and Krushevskij (also Baudouin de Courtenay in his earlier works) are however so different from those current to-day that their interest is merely historical. The modern definitions are considered by Laziczius under three heads:—

(1) Psychological. This attitude is ultimately due to Baudouin de Courtenay who defined the phoneme as "the psychological counterpart of the speech-sound." Advocates of views of this type have been mostly Poles, notably Benni and Ułaszyn.

(2) Functional. Shcherba is the originator of this attitude.<sup>2</sup> Troubetzkoy is probably to be reckoned as belonging here and the modern functional attitude (exemplified in the works of Mathesius, de Groot, Chyzhevskyj, Doroszewski and Daniel Jones) represents a development of Shcherba's original view. This is the usual position to-day and Laziczius associates himself with it.

(3) Sociological. This attitude is only found in the USSR., e.g. in the works of Shor, Vinokur and Tomashevskij (who<sup>3</sup> defines the phonemes as "the socially valuable sounds of language").

Laziczius then deals with the different types of relation which can subsist between phonemes (§4) and with the phonetic variants of phonemes (§5). In §6 he discusses the fact that a difference phonemal in one language may be merely phonetic in another (he compares Polish *lata* pl. 'years': *tata* 'patch' with the same difference as that between the *ls* of English *leaf* and *feel* and, as an extreme case, he quotes Polivanov's example, *op. cit.* p. 215, of the South American language Botokudo<sup>4</sup> in which *d/n* and *b/m* are mere phonetic variants). This section is concluded by an interesting account of the importance of phonematology in the construction of alphabets<sup>5</sup> and some remarks on 'Lautersatz.' §7 is devoted to the use which languages make of their phonemes, in fact to the modern 'Lautstatistik'; this type of work is so well exemplified in Professor Trnka's recent book *A phonological analysis of*

<sup>2</sup> Shcherba's *Russkie glasnye* is unfortunately not accessible to me; but, according to Laziczius, Polivanov follows Shcherba almost word for word and I therefore quote here Polivanov's definition (*Vvedenie v jazykoznanie dlja vostokovednykh Vuzov* p. 217):—*Sushchestvujushchee v dannom jazyke predstavlenie zvuka jazyka, sposobnoe assotsirovat'sja so smyslovymi predstavlenijami i differentsirovat' slova, my budem nazывать FONEMOI.* "We shall define a *phoneme* as a presentation, existing in a given language, of a sound of the language, which is capable of being associated with meaning-presentations and of differentiating words." This definition is important as to it the current conception of the phoneme is ultimately due.

<sup>3</sup> *Jazykovedenie i materializm* p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde* p. 697.

<sup>5</sup> Admirers of that great scholar General Baron P. K. Uslar (1816-1875) will be interested to learn that, in constructing alphabets for the Caucasian languages, he betrayed an attitude which was almost phonematological.



*present-day standard English* (Prague, 1935) that perhaps nothing further need be said here on the subject.

II. *Hungarian Phonematology* (§§9-13). In this part of the book Laziczius applies his general methods to a descriptive phonematology of Hungarian and its dialects. Owing to the nature of the subject this section falls outside the scope of the present review. It is clearly written and should be easily intelligible to anyone familiar with the rudiments of Hungarian philology. It is documented by a most useful bibliography of the large and scattered literature of Hungarian dialect philology, a subject with which Dr. Laziczius is peculiarly fitted to deal.<sup>6</sup>

III. *Historical Phonematology*. Laziczius first of all (§§14-15) attacks Sievers' views as to the 'gradualness' of true sound-changes. He concludes by quoting Sommerfelt's remark<sup>7</sup> "Le changement par saut c'est une nécessité psychologique."

More than half of this last part of Laziczius' book (§16) is taken up by his interesting and entirely new theory as to the phonematological explanation of certain types of sound-change. He has here made by far the most detailed (and certainly the most lucid) of the few applications of the principles of phonematology to diachronic philology that have hitherto appeared. His theory (which he explains by the sound method of a detailed exposition of two typologically interconnected examples) therefore merits very serious attention. His two examples are:—

(1) In the dialects of the Csángós of Moldavia<sup>8</sup> standard Hungarian *a* (pronounced *â*) appears as *â* in general but as *à*<sup>9</sup> before *á* in the next syllable; thus d.<sup>10</sup> *ârân* = s. *arany* 'gold' but d. *âpâm* = s. *apâm* 'my father.' The difference between the *â* and the *â* is considerable but, since no pair of words or forms is distinguished only by the difference *â* : *â*, *â* and *â* are

<sup>6</sup> Cf. his recent book *A magyar nyelvjárások* ['The Hungarian dialects'], Budapest, 1936.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal de Psychologie* xxv, 683.

<sup>8</sup> S. Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache* pp. 131-51, gives (in German) a brief but good account of Hungarian dialects.

<sup>9</sup> For Laziczius' over-dotted *a* I print *a* with a grave accent throughout.

<sup>10</sup> d. = dialect, s. = standard.

not two different phonemes but merely two variants of the *a*-phoneme. Wichmann has pointed out that in one Csángó settlement (Szabófalva) the expected *á* before *á* in the next syllable does not always appear; this is due to analogy; thus d. *álá* (instead of d. \**álá*) = s. *alá* 'under' by analogy with d. *álátt* = s. *alatt* 'under.' Similarly in the word d. *rákász* (instead of d. \**rákász*) 'das Legen, das Setzen' the *á* is due to analogy with the verb d. *rák* = s. *rak* 'legen, setzen' in whose conjugation forms with *á* (regularly) predominate (cf. pres. ind. subjective s. *rakok, raksz, rak, rakunk, raktok, raknak* etc.); but in d. *rákász* 'Haufen' we have the phonologically regular form with d. *á-á*. In this way in the dialect of Szabófalva the two words *rákász* 'Haufen' and *rákász* 'das Legen, das Setzen' are distinguished by the difference *á* : *á*. We must therefore say that in this dialect, *á* and *á* are two distinct phonemes whereas in general in the dialects of the Csángós of Moldavia they are, as we have seen, merely two phonetic variants of one phoneme. In this way a new phoneme has arisen in the dialect of Szabófalva.

(2) As his second example Laziczius chooses one of the most famous problems of Finno-Ugrian philology, that of the initial *k*-sounds. According to the classical theory there were two *k*-sounds in PrFU. : a front *k'* occurring only before front vowels and a back *k* occurring only before back vowels; in the majority of FU. languages these have fallen together (hence Finnish *k*) but they are kept apart in the Ugrian languages : PrFU. *k'* > Hung. *k* while PrFU. *k* > OHung.  $\chi$  (*ch*) > MnHung. *h*; cf. PrFU. *k'* in Finn. gen. sg. *käden* : Hung. *kéz* 'hand'; PrFU. *k* in Finn. *kolme* : Hung. *három* '3' (Halotti Beszéd<sup>11</sup> *charmúl* 'three times'). But this theory leaves unexplained certain cases where Hung. *k* occurs before a back vowel e.g. Hung. *kap* 'obtain.' In propounding his new theory Laziczius first discusses the Obi-Ugrian counterparts of the Hungarian *kéz*- and *három*-series. He finds that:—

(i) Hung. *k* (as in *kéz*) = Vogul and Ostyak *k* in general but

<sup>11</sup> The oldest Hungarian text (XIII c.).

*k'* (aspirated *k*) in some Ostyak dialects; this *k'* however is not a separate phoneme but a mere phonetic variant of the Ostyak *k*-phoneme.

(ii) Hung. *h* (as in *három*) = in general,  ${}_1\chi$ <sup>12</sup> (back spirant) in some Vogul and Ostyak dialects,  ${}_1k$  (back *k*) in others—with purely phonetic variations in certain dialects. Moreover (as can be seen from certain pairs of words) this  ${}_1\chi$  and  ${}_1k$  are phonemes distinct from the *k*-phoneme mentioned above, not mere phonetic variants of it. The  ${}_1\chi$ -dialects of Vogul and Ostyak together form a northern Obi-Ugrian group, the  ${}_1k$ -dialects a southern Obi-Ugrian group. Hence we may suppose that in Primitive Obi-Ugrian itself there were two groups, a northern  ${}_1\chi$ -group and a southern  ${}_1k$ -group.

Laziczius now suggests that in Pr.Hung., just as in Primitive Obi-Ugrian, there were two groups of dialects, a  ${}_1\chi$ -group and a  ${}_1k$ -group. In general the  ${}_1\chi$ -forms predominated (hence Hung. *három*) but in some words  ${}_1k$  (hence Hung. *kap*). For Primitive Ugrian<sup>13</sup> he would therefore postulate the counterpart of Finn. *k* as *k* before a front vowel and, before a back vowel,  ${}_1\chi$  in the north and  ${}_1k$  in the south.

On the other hand, in the non-Ugrian languages, there is, according to Laziczius, only evidence for one *k*-phoneme;<sup>14</sup> the same would appear to be true of Samoyede. Laziczius therefore suggests that the non-Ugrian branch preserves the original PrFU. state of affairs; he would postulate for PrFU. only one

<sup>12</sup> For Laziczius' subscript < I print a preceding subscript 'one' throughout.

<sup>13</sup> Ugrian = Obi-Ugrian (Vogul and Ostyak) together with Hungarian.

<sup>14</sup> One might however object that there is at all events a scrap of evidence for the existence of two widely-different *k*-sounds in non-Ugrian, though admittedly in different positions in the word (naturally we cannot hope to be in a position to decide whether this difference was ever used phonematically in the initial position or not). On the one hand ON. *Kyrjalar* 'Karelians': Finn. *Kärjala* 'Karelia' (and also ON. *Kvenir*, if we accept the somewhat problematical equation with Finnish *Kainulaiset*—see J. Laurosela, *Kveen-Kainulais-kysymys*, Historiallinen Arkisto XXII. ii. 4), attests the presence of a Primitive Baltic Fennic *k* (before a back vowel) formed exceptionally far back; and, on the other, Finn. *-deksän*, *-deksan* (in the 'subtractive' numerals *yhdeksän* '9' cf. part. *yh-tä* '1', and *kahdeksan* '8' cf. part. *kah-ta* '2'): IndE. *\*dek'm* '10' would, however obscure the forms may be (see E. N. Setälä, *Suomen suku* i, 142-3), appear certainly to attest the presence of a very front *k* in some early form of Ugrian.

*k*-phoneme, with, however, two phonetic variants, a back *k* before back vowels and a front *k* before front vowels. In Ugrian however this purely phonetic difference became 'phonematologised' giving rise to the new phoneme-pairs *k* : <sub>1</sub>*k* in the south and *k* : <sub>1</sub>*χ* in the north. The phonematologisation may well have taken place in a manner somewhat similar to that in which the Moldavian Csángó phonetic difference *á/â* was phonematologised to *á* : *â* in Szabófalva.

Laziczius concludes his book with some remarks (§17) on the interdependence of sound-changes from the phonematological point of view and brings forward some Hungarian sound-changes by way of illustration. Hungarian is strikingly similar to Modern English in the typology of its sound-changes and Laziczius' views are here rather reminiscent of the theories of Jespersen and Luick as to the Modern English vowel-shift.

A useful bibliography of the widely scattered literature of phonematology is appended.

In conclusion I put forward one or two criticisms, not of Dr. Laziczius' excellent book (for which one can have nothing but praise) but of the general theory of which he is such an able exponent.

To many philologists phonematology can only be of value in so far as it explains phonology.<sup>15</sup> Laziczius' application of the principles of phonematology to the problem of sound-change is certainly the most plausible that has hitherto been made, but, even so, it is far from convincing. The postulated phonematologisation of a phonetic difference would, in the first place, seem to be rather too artificial. Secondly it depends, like most of phonematology, upon a hypothetical aversion to homonyms, even if these homonyms are numerically quite insignificant. Are homonyms really so important a factor in language as the phonematologists would have us believe? In a paper read before the Philological Society in London (1/2/1934) entitled "Some possible factors in linguistic

<sup>15</sup> Except of course for the facts that:—(i) it incidentally inculcates the relativist attitude so essential in the modern theory of language; (ii) it is of great use in the designing of new alphabets.

change"<sup>16</sup> I discussed this question of the problematical importance of homonyms with reference to a very different theory of linguistic change, that of Gilliéron, which, however, like the phonematologists', ultimately presupposes that linguistic change is due to a tendency to avoid the ambiguity which is, or might be, caused by homonyms. I suggested then that we might possibly (but by no means certainly) ascribe to this tendency phenomena such as the extensive use of synonym-compounds (of the *look-see* type) and classifiers in Chinese, a language in which the homonym-possibilities are very great; but that we could hardly explain in this way the sound-changes of the majority of languages (such as Hungarian and English), in which the homonym-possibilities are comparatively small. In such languages the possibilities for confusion due to the existence, or possible formation, of homonyms are too slight to be considered a serious factor in linguistic change. Moreover, even if a tendency to avoid homonyms exists, it may well be realised by various conscious and simple methods (such as the use of unambiguous synonyms, reliance upon the context, etc.) rather than by the subconscious and extraordinarily complex ones which are postulated both by the phonematologists and by the Gilliéron school. Finally, even if we accept the suggestion of either of these schools as a possible hypothesis, it remains a pure hypothesis, awaiting a *statistical*<sup>17</sup> testing which has so far not begun.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> This paper was not published in full; a very brief summary will be found at p. 99 of *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1934.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. my paper mentioned above.

<sup>18</sup> I adhere to the 'indeterminist' view of sound-change which I expressed in *Nature* cxxix, 760-1.

INTRODUCTION AND GLOSSARY TO THE OLD  
ENGLISH VERSION OF BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL  
HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

The main part of this thesis consists of a glossary to the Old English Bede, the original Latin being added to the Modern English meaning of the word glossed.

Of the *Introduction*, Chapter I deals with the biography of Bede and his importance in Western Europe, and with the value of the " *Historia Ecclesiastica* " to the student of literature, history and church history.

Chapter II deals with the manuscripts. Plummer's views as to the interrelation of the numerous Latin MSS. are discussed; then follows a detailed account of the positions of the various OE. MSS. and of their relation to the Latin text. They are divided into two groups.

In Chapter III it is shown that the OE. MSS. are copies, at various removes, of an archetype which has not survived and that there are dialectal differences between the OE. MSS.; moreover, even in the same MS. the language is not uniform. It is suggested that the original translation was in an Anglian dialect.

In Chapter IV (which concludes the *Introduction*) the authorship is discussed. It is first of all shown that the translation can hardly be ascribed to King Alfred. Werferth (Bishop of Worcester 873-915) seems a more possible author, but the final conclusion is that " the problem of the OE. authorship remains unsolved."

There is added a map in which the place-names mentioned by Bede are indicated.

MURIEL R. JEFFERY, M.A., 1935.

THESES ADDED TO LEEDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter MS. F 10, edited by Dora M. Grisdale, M.A., 1936.

The Place-Names of Kesteven (S. W. Lincolnshire), by L. W. H. Payling, M.A., 1936.

